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The American Church History Series

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VOLUME VII

A.M.S.I.A.

American Church History

A HISTORY

OF THE

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

CHARLES C. TIFFANY, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF NEW YORK

New York

The Christian Literature Co.

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PREFACE.

THE Protestant Episcopal Church is the lineal and legitimate descendant of the Church of England. It represents in the United States of America Christianity as it is received and embodied in the Established Church of Great Britain. In doctrine, discipline, and worship it aims not to depart from its august parent further than local circumstances compel, but it claims to be supreme judge of the force of circumstances, and a supreme law in adapting itself to them. It derived its orders, it accepted its liturgy, it inherited its creeds and articles of religion, from the English Church. Yet, notwithstanding its foreign origin, it is not a foreign church. Its history is coeval with the earliest settlements of the continent, and has kept constant pace with all the varying phases of national development. In common with all the institutions in the land which claim for their permanent features a date anterior to the discovery of America, and in the same sense, this church came from abroad. Its structural features did not originate in the eighteenth century, when the nation arose, nor in the fifteenth century, when the continent was discovered. They antedated these events nearly two thousand years. But while thus transplanted, the church took early and firm root in American soil. It developed a constitution and a life essentially American and essentially its own. Its adherents claim that it is peculiarly fitted to become the dominant church of the continent, by reason

special features which distinguish it from other
tical bodies. They aver that it reflects in its con-
more exactly than any other religious corpora-
fundamental principles which rule in our national
ent, and that it secures and expresses in things
more completely than can be found elsewhere the
spirit of our national life, "liberty protected by
As a nation," says Mr. George William Curtis, in
on on Mr. Lowell, "we did not invent the great
nts of liberty: trial by jury, the habeas corpus,
ional restraint, the common school, of all which
the common heirs with civilized Christendom."
Episcopal Church did not create episcopacy, nor
rize a liturgy, nor invent a creed. To apply to
ch what Mr. Curtis again says of the state, "the
pirit of conservatism was its own, and it cherished
nce for antiquity, a susceptibility to the value of

struct and reissue transient features and forms of life which the past has let die, but to vindicate and apply to the latest life of the latest nation the truths which have proved their essential vitality by their perennial influence. This church believes in its future because it believes in its past, and out of this tried faith comes the confidence of its present. It is a church in the nation; it would fain be the church of the nation, not as an enforced ecclesiastical establishment, but as the chosen religious home of willing souls, convinced of the truths which it proclaims, and intent on the life which it incites.

To describe the origin and trace the growth of this church is the object of the present volume. In its composition the author has had the assistance of friends in the accumulation of material, which it is his pleasure, as it is his duty, to cordially acknowledge. His thanks are especially due to his diocesan, the Rt. Rev. H. C. Potter, D.D., Bishop of New York, for information, otherwise inaccessible, concerning certain periods and phases of church life and character; to the Rt. Rev. Leighton Coleman, D.D., Bishop of Delaware, for his courteous and ready help in furnishing proof-sheets of his own volume, "The Church in America," which was just issuing from the press as this volume was entering the printer's hands; to the Rt. Rev. T. M. Clark, D.D., Bishop of Rhode Island, for the loan of books from his library and pamphlets of his composition; to Dean Hoffman, for full access to the library of the General Theological Seminary, and to Mr. Bull, its accommodating librarian, for many civilities; to Mr. Edward Tiffany, assistant librarian of the Boston Public Library, for indicating and opening its historical treasures; to Mr. Thomas Whittaker, for the free use of many volumes from his valuable church bookstore, No. 2 Bible House, New York; to Mr. Little, librarian of the Astor Library, for cordial assist-

ance; and, perchance above all, to the Rev. William Tatlock, D.D., rector of St. John's Church, Stamford, Conn., for the use of many valuable books from the Lloyd Library; to the Rev. William R. Huntington, D.D., rector of Grace Church, New York, for helpful information concerning certain periods of the legislation of the General Convention; to Professor F. B. Dexter, of Yale University, for his ready and gracious compliance with the request for the fullest information to be found in the college archives concerning the conversion of Rector Cutler; and to the Rev. Ralph H. Baldwin and the Rev. Edward L. Parsons, for invaluable assistance in compiling the Bibliography of the subject.

No one who attempts to write concerning the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church can fail to record his sense of the obligation which all historical students owe to the Rt. Rev. William Stevens Perry, D.D., Bishop of Iowa, for his laborious compilation of original material, and many valuable essays on special points of history, collected in the two large volumes of his "History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587–1883," and in the four huge volumes of the Facsimiles of Manuscripts, wherein almost all valuable documents of the church's history find a place; and for his condensed records of the proceedings of the General Conventions, to be found in his "Handbook of the General Conventions, 1785–1874," and for the fuller record, with historical notes and documents, contained in the three volumes of "A Half-century of the Legislation of the American Church." The value of the office of historiographer of the church is apparent as one scans these volumes, as well as when he studies the "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States" of the late Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., in the two volumes which shed so much light on the history of the Episcopal

Church in Virginia and Maryland. Nor can one fail to recognize what flashes of light are thrown on certain phases of this church's history by the broad and brilliant generalizations of the Rev. S. D. McConnell, D.D., in his "History of the American Episcopal Church," which is as full of wisdom as of wit. The "History of the American Church," by Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford and Winchester, is valuable in its account of the colonies, and is remarkable throughout as the production of one who never visited America. His unfamiliarity with our republican institutions, however, makes his account of the constitutional period of less value. Canon Anderson's "History of the Church of England in the Colonies," in three volumes, is more full and instructive than Wilberforce, and the "Digest of the Records of the Venerable S. P. G." is invaluable as a source of information concerning our colonial ecclesiastical history, while "The Colonial Era," by Professor G. P. Fisher, D.D., of Yale University, gives a clear and impartial view of the early political events which so vitally affected the life of the church.

For the post-colonial period and the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church" furnish a running comment on the constitutional movement by the chief actor in it, which is a treasure-house of information, indispensable to the understanding of the time; and the "Life of Bishop Seabury" gives much interesting matter supplementary to Bishop White's volume. For the subsequent history the "Journals" of the General and Diocesan Conventions, together with the many memoirs of the chief actors in it, are the principal sources of information.

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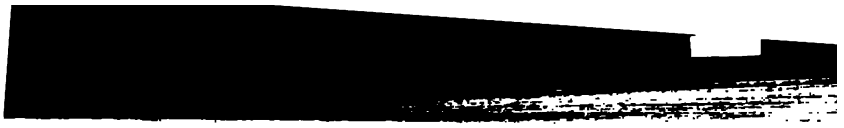

PERIOD I.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE COLONIES (1607–1785).

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST ATTEMPTS AT ENGLISH COLONIZATION.

To plant the Church of England in America formed, from the beginning, an essential part of England's colonial policy. The nation based its right to colonize the Western continent on the discoveries in North America of John and Sebastian Cabot, who sailed in 1497–98 under the patent of Henry VII., and skirted the North American coast from Newfoundland to the Chesapeake Bay. It was fully thirty years after these two voyages of the Cabots before America attracted much attention in England, and not until after the Reformation was established was any practical attempt at colonization made. From the very first movement, however, it was as much an object of England to establish Christianity, as she accepted and embodied it in a Reformed Church, as to augment her civil authority as a great Protestant nation.

It was fifty-five years after the discoveries of the Cabots that "the first reformed fleet which had English prayers and preaching therein" was dispatched by direction of Edward VI., under command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, to discover a northeastern passage to Cathay. It accom-

plished nothing, as the admiral and crew were all frozen to death while wintering in Russian Lapland. This was the only Western expedition of King Edward's reign. During the reactionary rule of Queen Mary all such enterprise was suspended, and even Calais, the sole foreign possession of the English crown, was lost. It was during the long reign of Elizabeth, the friend of the Reformation and determined enemy of Spain, that the first vigorous attempts were made to plant civilization and the Church of England in America. Under her sway expeditions of discovery and settlement were frequent. We need not dwell on the expedition of Frobisher along the shores of Hudson's Bay in 1578, nor on that of Drake to the Pacific coast in 1579, when he discovered the coast of Oregon and made a landing in California.[1] It is true that in both these widely distant regions religious services, in the use of the Book of Common Prayer, were held by the English chaplains of the fleets. These expeditions were not, however, the historic roots of the great aftergrowth of English civil and religious life in the New World. They were transient in their effect, save as they contributed to the spirit of adventure which should come after and achieve permanent results.

The first charter granted for the establishment of an English colony on American shores was that which Sir Humphrey Gilbert received from Queen Elizabeth, June 11, 1578, which prescribed by letters patent "for the in-

[1] The largest cross in the world now stands in Drake's Bay, North America. Three hundred and sixteen years ago the celebrated Sir Francis Drake landed in this bay, and his chaplain, Francis Fletcher by name, preached the very first English sermon ever heard in that region. To commemorate this event Bishop Nichols, of California, and the late George W. Childs have caused a large stone cross to be erected on the spot, a cliff standing three hundred feet above the sea. The cross is fifty-seven feet high, of blue sandstone; several of the stones in it are larger than the largest stone in the pyramid of Cheops. This splendid monument can be seen far and wide.

habiting and planting of our people in America." It was ordered that the laws and ordinances of the settlement "be, as near as conveniently may, agreeable to the laws and policy of England, and also that they be not against the true Christian Faith and Religion now professed in the Church of England." This expedition proved fruitless. A second voyage was undertaken in 1583, and this reached St. Johns, which was taken possession of; and here a few laws were promulgated for immediate observance, one of which provided that the religion of the colony "in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England." But Sir Humphrey, notwithstanding his colonial charter, was destined to make no permanent impression in the Western world. In attempting to explore the coast of the mainland to the southward he was obliged, by the loss of one of his ships, to turn his face toward England; and his own ship foundered in a storm. "He was last seen," says the affecting chronicle of the survivors, "sitting abaft with a book in his hands;" and his last words wafted to his companions were, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." So perished the devout and intrepid leader of the first chartered American colony.

The year following Sir Humphrey's death (1584) the queen granted a fresh patent to Walter Raleigh, half-brother to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and at that time her own favorite courtier. By this patent she vested in him and his heirs the powers and privileges which had been bestowed on Sir Humphrey. He at once sent out two barks, which reached the coast of North Carolina, and, after spending two months there, returned with two natives whom they had captured, and some general but not accurate information concerning the products of the soil. The account of this voyage made a deep and widespread impression. The queen named the country, of

which a rude map was printed, Virginia, in honor of herself. She made Raleigh a knight, and he obtained from Parliament a bill confirming his patent. He at once proceeded to forward the project of settling a colony in the newly discovered region. He gathered a squadron of seven vessels, put them in command of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, and the expedition sailed from Plymouth April 9, 1585, for Virginia, to found a settlement. The colony included a hundred and eight souls, over whom Ralph Lane was appointed governor; but it was not a happily constituted company. It was not a group of families, but a gathering of individual adventurers. A number of men of fortune and family went along, among whom one is especially deserving of mention, viz., Master Hariot, to whom we owe the knowledge of the potato and of tobacco, and who, first of any member of the Church of England, made missionary efforts to convert the native Indians. The majority were of far less desirable quality and character, "bad natures," as Hariot described them, "brawling freebooters, ignorant of husbandry, and indisposed to peaceful industry, though eager for adventure and covetous of fortune." The hopes of the promoters of the enterprise found a most inadequate fulfillment. Only one year from their arrival the sails of Sir Francis Drake's fleet appeared on the horizon and offered supplies to the colonists; but they suddenly determined to abandon the settlement, and embarked with Drake for England. Another expedition came the next year (1587), numbering a hundred and fifty, of which John White was the governor, and which included, for the first time, women as well as men.

Misfortune attended this attempt at colonization as well as that which had preceded it. It had landed, not, as proposed, on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, but on the island of Roanoke, where fifteen of the previous ex-

pedition had been left, and where now the only traces of them were their bones and their dismantled and deserted habitations. The colonists were disheartened from the outset, and soon became involved in hostilities with the Indians. The governor was persuaded to return home to secure needed supplies. He took about half the colonists with him, but, as a fair evidence of his purpose to speedily return, left behind his daughter and granddaughter.

A most interesting episode in the history of this ill-fated colony was the baptism of Manateo, the first Indian convert, on August 13, 1587, and, on the following Sunday (August 20th), of Virginia Dare, born two days previously. She was the governor's granddaughter, and the first child born of English parents in America. Thus were admitted to the Christian church the first child and the first convert of a colony soon to disappear from the face of the earth. The needed relief was of necessity delayed until it was too late. In the beginning of the year 1588 the formidable Spanish Armada was gathered and partly afloat. Every maritime exertion of the mother-country had to be put forth to vanquish this gigantic enemy of England's state and church. Until this danger passed, to guard the home was a necessity more imperative than to succor colonists. Thus the settlement at Roanoke remained unsuccored until it had disappeared. It was not until 1590 that White could revisit the colony. All that he found were certain old chests and water-soaked charts and books and a few rusty cannon. Of the colonists themselves there was no trace. They were either destroyed by the Indians or amalgamated with them. White returned to England in utter ignorance of their fate, and without in the least advancing the settlement of the country.

In the meantime Sir Walter Raleigh, having already expended forty thousand pounds in his fruitless attempts

at colonization, became eager to press his fortunes in South America, which seemed to promise more both in adventure and in profit. Being embarrassed by his large outlay in Virginia and North Carolina, he in 1588–89, while retaining his patent, made over to Sir Thomas Smith and a company of merchants in London all the rights and privileges conferred upon him by letters patent of Elizabeth. This company took no steps toward the permanent occupation of the country; and at the end of the century which had elapsed since Cabot's discovery of North America, no settlement indicative of England's power and prowess was to be found on the Western continent. Sir Walter, however, had created the spirit of colonization and secured the possessions in North America to the English crown.

Early in the seventeenth century renewed attempts were made toward American colonization, for which now everything was favorable. The year following the accession of King James I. was one of peace, the first in many years. There was a redundancy of population. The laboring class lived most uncomfortably, in mere huts, at home, and there was lack of employment. The conflict with Spain and the wars in the Netherlands had furnished relief by giving occupation to the surplus population. It was a training which developed a spirit of restless adventure; and when expeditions were set on foot for the New World, its mystery, and the promise of betterment, if not of wealth, were a resistless incitement to the spirit of enterprise.

In 1602 Captain Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from Falmouth, with no reference to Sir Walter Raleigh or his patent, intending to found a small colony. About May he came upon the coast of Maine. Thence he sailed southward, rounded Cape Cod, and built a fortified house on the island of Cuttyhunk, intending to make a permanent

lodgment there; but the intended colonists fell to wrangling, and amid general discontent the whole company sailed for home. Sir Walter promptly confiscated the cargo of sassafras and cedar, concerning the division of which the crew had quarreled, on the plea that the expedition infringed his patent. A settlement was made sufficiently to his advantage to induce him to send out an expedition again; and Martin Pring, with his express permission, took charge of the two vessels—the "Speedwell" and the "Discoverer"—and, sailing, sighted islands on the coast of Maine June 2, 1603. He then bore southward and made harbor at what became subsequently Plymouth, in Massachusetts Bay. Here he remained six weeks, gathering sassafras, and returned home again in October. He thus became acquainted with the land of the Pilgrims seventeen years before the Pilgrims came; and here the service of the Church of England was celebrated in advance of the Puritans, who on these shores afterward rejected it.

In 1605 an expedition, commanded by George Waymouth, sailed from Dartmouth, which was destined to have an important bearing on the future of New England colonization. He arrived off the coast of Maine in June, and explored the Kennebec River for forty miles. He planted a cross as a mark of discovery and possession, and set sail for England June 16th, carrying with him five savages whom he had kidnapped. The narrative of this voyage which was soon published, describing the coast of Maine as it appeared in summer-time, together with the curiosity aroused by the presence of the Indians, awakened a widespread interest. It attracted the attention of Sir John Popham, Lord Chief-Justice. Sir Fernando Gorges, as royal governor at Plymouth, took the Indians in charge, kept three of them in his house for three years, having them instructed in English, and learning from them con-

cerning the islands and harbors of their native country. He thus became an enthusiast concerning settlements in the New World, and a new impulse was given to Western adventure.

In the spirit of enthusiasm thus aroused, both Lord Chief-Justice Popham and Sir Fernando Gorges made efforts, by sending several ships to the river Sagadahoc or Kennebec, to accomplish a settlement there. These were captured by the Spaniards; but Pring, commanding another ship of Popham's, reached the shore in safety, and made a careful survey of it, in consequence of which plans for a permanent colony were projected. This last expedition, which started in May, 1607, did not accomplish any permanent settlement. It discovered the cross which Waymouth had set up two years before; and there the company landed, and the preacher of the colony, Sir Richard Seymour, held a solemn service, preached a sermon, and offered prayers. This is the first record of a religious service performed by any English or Protestant clergyman within the bounds of New England, which was then and there consecrated to Christian civilization. By reason of the death of Lord Chief-Justice Popham, the patentee, and of Captain George Popham (his brother), the leader of the enterprise, as well as of a fire which destroyed the houses which they built, and by the unexpected inclemency of the winter climate, the colonists became discouraged, and all set sail for England in the ship which came bringing them supplies. The short-lived colony is, however, worthy of note, because the claim of the English to the possession of the territory of New England rests upon this settlement. It is interesting, moreover, as a witness to the performance of the service of the Church of England as the first religious worship in the region afterward to become the land of the Pilgrims.

CHAPTER II.

THE VIRGINIA CHARTER AND SETTLEMENT.

THE time for mere individual adventure and private expeditions was now over. Experience had proved them too large and costly for single persons to undertake. On April 10, 1606, King James I. granted the first charter of Virginia, on the general plan of the East India Company, which had been organized for purposes of trade in 1599. This charter provided for the establishment of a company, or of one company in two branches, namely, the London Colony and the Plymouth Colony, the former having authority to occupy lands between 34° and 41° of north latitude, and the latter to occupy lands between 38° and 45° of north latitude. As is evident, these colonies overlapped each other in the region lying between 38° and 41° north latitude, common to them both. Neither colony was permitted to plant a settlement within a hundred miles of a settlement previously planted by the other. Each company was to have a hundred miles of seacoast, half to the north and half to the south of its colony, with the islands for a hundred miles eastward on the coast, and territory on the mainland to the same extent westward. The West was at that time a wholly unknown region as to its extent. In the original charter, Sir Thomas Gates, Richard Hakluyt, Edmund Wingfield, and George Popham (brother of Sir John Popham, the Chief-Justice), with others, were the corporators; but in the Superior Council

d by the king six months later, Sir John Popham
nando Gorges were included. In the set of in-
s issued by the authority of the king as a kind
tution of the company it was stipulated that the
of England was to be maintained, and it was en-
use all proper means to draw the natives to the
wledge and love of God.

the expedition left England for Virginia an ordi-
s passed, under the sign-manual of the king and
seal, which contained the following declaration:
he said Presidents, Councils, and the Ministers
provide that the Word and service of God be
, planted, and used, not only in the said Colonies,
as much as might be, among the savages border-
ng them, according to the rites and doctrines of
ch of England."

xpedition thus commissioned in regard to spiritual
siastical matters sailed from Blackwall December

ginning of the voyage, when, as it is related in Smith's "Virginia," they "by unprosperous winds were kept six weeks in sight of England, all which time Mr. Hunt our preacher was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although we were but twenty miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than atheists, of the greatest rank among us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designs (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with water of patience and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted example) quenched those flames of envie and dissension." On the 13th of May the colony landed, and began the settlement of Jamestown, on the north bank of the James River, about thirty-two miles from its mouth. There was erected the first church in Virginia.

"I well remember," writes Smith in his "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England," "wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or four trees to shaden us from the sunne, our walles were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut plankes: our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees. This was our Churche till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon crotchets covered with rafts, sedge and earth; so was also the walles, that could neither well defend wind nor raine. Yet we had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the Holy Communion, till our minister died. But our prayers daily, with an homily on Sundaies,

ied two or three yeares after till more Preachers

plain was alive to the duties of his calling from
moment. On June 21st, five weeks after the
e first celebration of the Eucharist took place
glish colonies of America. That was the day
Captain Newport's return to England for sup-
the day following Captain Smith's admission,
h turbulent bickering, to membership in the
Beneath a rude sail upheld by the logs fresh
the forest, the first communion was celebrated
a as the sacrament of peace. It was the third
fter Trinity, 1607, and the exhortation of the
that day, "All of you be subject one to another,
othed with humility," was certainly apt to the

tory of the Virginia Colony, apart from its bear-

Earl of Salisbury, and Francis Bacon were among them; as also Abbot, then Bishop of London, and afterward Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishops of Lincoln and Worcester, and Bath and Wells; Sandys, the pupil of Hooker; and John and Nicholas Ferrar; and again Hakluyt, whose interest never flagged. Sermons were preached in the London churches, for the first time, to those about to carry forth the name and character of the Church of England to the New World. A notable one was that delivered February 21, 1609, by William Crashaw, preacher at the Temple, in the presence of Lord de la Warr and the Virginia council, a few months before the departure of the expedition. At its conclusion he thus addressed the first governor of Virginia: "Thy ancestor many hundred years agoe gained great honour to thy house; but by this action thou augmentest it: he tooke a King prisoner in the field in his own land; but by the godly managing of this businesse, thou shalt take the Diuell prisoner in open field and in his owne kingdome. . . . And thus the glory and honour of thy house is more at the last than at the first. Look not at the gaine, the wealth, the honour, but looke at those high and better ends that concerne the Kingdom of God. Remember thou art a General of Christian men, therefore looke principally to religion. You goe to commend it to the heathen: then practice it yourselves; make the name of Christ honourable not hatefull unto them."

It is thus evident that the spirit of Christian love animated the hearts of some who were engaged in this colonial enterprise. Many insubordinate and disreputable characters were enlisted in this new company of five hundred who went out to reinforce the Virginia Colony; but the spirit of the company and of the leaders was sober and religious. Lord de la Warr, under the new charter, was the first governor of Virginia; and by reason of the change

vernment, from an aristocracy to an autocracy of
specific directions were hereafter sent by the
concerning religion and legislation in its behalf.
Burke, commended by the Bishop of London
ful and zealous minister, "an able and painfull
" and a graduate of Oxford, was appointed chap-
started with the expedition under Sir Thomas
l Sir George Somers, which preceded Lord de la
s wrecked with them off the Bermudas, where
ered faithfully until two ships were built, which
em to Jamestown in June, 1610. The most of
dition, consisting of seven vessels, had previously
hat place in August, 1609, and was composed,
ost part, of "poore gentlemen, tradesmen, serving
tines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a
ealth, than either begin one, or help to maintain
the absence of commanding leaders, and in the

led their devotions in a "zealous and sorrowful" prayer. The destitution was so great that Gates resolved to abandon the settlement and proceed to Newfoundland. On the evening of June 7th the vessels, with all on board, dropped down the river with the tide, "none dropping a tear, because none had enjoyed one day of happiness." The Virginia Colony seemed to be at an end.

But the ships of De la Warr were in the offing. Gates, the next morning, while waiting for the tide, descried a boat approaching, which announced the arrival of the expedition. The forlorn remnant of a colony returned to the deserted settlement; and there, a few days later, on Sunday the 10th of June, Lord de la Warr was received by the lieutenant-governor and his destitute companions, drawn up under arms. He was so affected by the melancholy sight that he fell upon his knees and prayed silently in the presence of all the people. When he arose a procession was formed, which marched at once to the church, where a sermon was preached by Master Burke; and not until the conclusion of divine service did he assume command of the colony. Among the earliest acts of his government were provisions for spreading and preserving the gospel among the colonists. The church was at once handsomely repaired, and daily morning and evening prayer were performed within it. On Sundays De la Warr attended in state, accompanied by all the public officers, and a guard in "faire red cloakes," to the number of fifty, on each side and behind him. He was seated in the "Quier," "in a green velvet chair, with a velvet cushion on a table before him." He returned home from church attended in the same stately manner. He thus gave the weight of his official position, after the fashion of those days, to the religious concerns of the colony, and publicly and privately set an example of devotion. More than one clergyman

accompanied him, so that Master Burke was no longer alone. Lord de la Warr's administration was, however, short-lived. His health compelled him to return home after a year's sojourn in Virginia. He had, almost immediately after his arrival, petitioned for more clerical aid; and in "The Table of such as are required in their Plantation," issued by the council of the company at home, "foure honest and learned ministers" head the list.

Alexander Whitaker, son of the master of St. John's College, Cambridge, was the most eminent of those who followed in the company of Sir Thomas Dale, the successor of Lord de la Warr. He was a man of great energy and earnestness. The fact that Pocahontas was converted and baptized by him has made his name conspicuous; but his labors, both for the colonists and the natives, gave him a right to the title "Apostle to the Indians," by which he became designated. He left station, wealth, the sure prospect of preferment, and many cultivated friends, of his own free motion, "to help beare the name of God unto the Gentiles." The presence of such a man was a consecration to the colony. Glover also, a Cambridge graduate somewhat advanced in years, and in easy circumstances, but animated by the same missionary and martyr spirit as Whitaker, came over in June, 1611, with Sir Thomas Gates, on whom the government now devolved, and who embarked with his wife and daughter and three hundred men, and a large supply of stores and cattle. The temporal circumstances of the colony began to mend. New settlements were formed at Henrico, named in honor of Henry, Prince of Wales, and at Bermuda Hundred. The character of the colonists, however, seemed to the company at home to call for more stringent laws. One can with difficulty picture to himself the characteristics of a colony so mixed as that at Jamestown. Its domesticity may be

imagined when women were sent over in shiploads for wives to the settlers, and when freebooters, eager for adventure and gold, pressed continually in. There was doubtless occasion for rigorous rule, but not excuse for the savage provision of the "Lawes, diuine, morall and martiall," which were promulgated by the home company for the use of Sir Thomas Dale. These laws were in great measure copied from the laws observed in the Low Countries during the wars there, in which Dale had served with distinction. They put the church under martial law, and tended to make it odious. They were administered with great moderation, in fact, were allowed to slumber, by Dale; but they empowered him to put to death all who spoke against the holy Trinity or the articles of the Christian faith, or who uttered blasphemy or unlawful oaths. To be openly whipped three times was the penalty for behaving irreverently to any preacher or minister of God's Word; and absence from divine service upon week-days or "the Saboth," if persisted in after fine and whipping, brought condemnation for six months to the galleys, or even death. These and other like laws, to the number of thirty-seven, were to be read every "Saboth" publicly in the congregation by the minister, "upon paine of his entertainment checkt for that weeke."

To a community of a character to suggest the propriety of such laws the ministrations of religion must have been both arduous and depressing. That they were faithfully executed, even enthusiastically fulfilled, by the devoted men who had undertaken the work is conspicuously evident. The whole tone and scope of Whitaker's "Good Newes from Virginia," published in London in 1613, demonstrate this. He makes this appeal to his countrymen: "Awake, you true-hearted Englishmen, you servants of Jesus Christ, remember that the Plantation is God's, and

ard your country's." Many circumstances now
l to strengthen the colony. The conversion and
of Pocahontas, daughter of the Indian chief
n, and her marriage to John Rolfe, an English
an, with her subsequent visit in 1616 to England,
ıe died, did much to deepen and extend the in-
sober-minded persons in England in the colony.
favorable effect for a while upon the relations of
ny with the Indians, resulting in a treaty of peace
whatan in 1614.

ystematic cultivation of tobacco, which began about
attributed to John Rolfe; and it was so lucrative
on become the all-controlling occupation of Vir-
It became an element in all its political and relig-
urbances, besides greatly increasing its commercial
, and it was the most direct instigation of African
The third charter, granted in 1612, introduced a

was duly opened with prayer by Master Burke. It exercised judicial as well as legislative authority. It confirmed the authority of the Church of England in the colony, and made laws concerning religious observances, such as attendance at church twice on Sunday, which was compulsory. It was provided that the clergy should have in each borough a glebe of one hundred acres, and receive from the profits of each parish a standing revenue of two hundred pounds. The dues of the minister were paid mostly in tobacco; and in 1621–22 it was enacted that each clergyman should have fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco and sixteen barrels of corn. If this could not be raised, "the minister was to be content with less." At the time of this first establishment of the Church of England in Virginia by the action of the House of Burgesses there were only five clergymen in the colony, and two of these were in deacon's orders. The state undertook the matter of ecclesiastical discipline, and passed numerous laws regulating the conduct and duties of both clergy and laity. Negligent clergy were answerable to the governor and Council of Estate; and before proceeding to excommunicate any layman, the clergy were to present their opinions to the governor. Special directions were given for preaching, catechising, and administration of the sacraments; and special punishments were decreed for idleness, gaming, and swearing. The passion for display in even so primitive a community is evidenced by the provision that the rate for public contributions was to be assessed in the church on the apparel of the men and women, for the express purpose of restraining immoderate excess in dress.

The interests of education were not neglected. Measures were passed looking to the foundation of a college, and specific directions were given that from the children of the natives "the most towardly boyes in witt and graces

of nature be fitted for the college intended for them," that they might be missionaries to their own people. The college was intended for the English as well as the Indians. In response to an address to the archbishops, fifteen hundred pounds was received for the college; and the company instructed Yeardley to plant a university at Henrico, and allotted ten thousand acres of land for its endowment. Further sums were also received; one, a bequest of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, Sr., a merchant of London, of three hundred pounds, "to be paid when there shall be three of the Infidels' children placed in it;" also twenty-four pounds, "to be distributed to three discreet and godly men in the colony which shall honestly bring up three of the Infidels' children in the Christian Religion and some good course to live by." Bishop King, of London, collected and paid a thousand pounds to the Henrico college. The sum of five hundred pounds was forwarded to the treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys (son of the Archbishop of York and pupil of Richard Hooker), for the education of Indian children from seven years of age until twelve, after which they were to be taught some trade until they were twenty-one, when they were to be admitted to equal privileges with the native English of Virginia. Numerous gifts of communion plate and linen, of Bibles and Prayer-books, were sent out for the use of the college and church; and Thomas Bargrave, a clergyman, gave his library to it. Rev. Mr. Copeland, chaplain of an East-Indiaman, a little later collected a sum for the establishment of a public free preparatory school, for which the company allotted a thousand acres of land for the support of a master and usher. Mr. George Thorp, "an exemplary man, of good parts and well bred," accepted the headship of the college from a desire to help on the conversion of the Indians.

The extension of the colony up the James River for a

hundred and forty miles, and the division of this territory into eleven boroughs, scattered the population, so that the five clergymen, who might have been sufficient for the colony had it remained concentrated in Jamestown and its immediate vicinity, were unable to reach with their spiritual ministrations so scattered a flock. The Virginia council, therefore, applied to the Bishop of London to assist them in providing "pious, learned, and painful ministers." The bishop was forthwith chosen a member of the king's council for Virginia; and, as the result of Bishop King's personal and official interest and love, the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was henceforth continuously recognized in America during the whole period of its colonial history, though no special measures were at this time, or ever, adopted to formally incorporate Virginia, or any American colony, within the diocese of London.

The population of the colony was now reinforced by the importation of women for wives, and also of boys and girls for apprentices and servants. Ninety young women of good repute were shipped to Virginia at the expense of the company, and these were followed later by a band of sixty. Convicts, also, to the number of a hundred, were sent as laborers by the arbitrary mandate of the king. This tyrannical act of James, as Smith, the historian of the colony, wrote, "hath laid one of the finest countries of America under just scandal of being a mere hell upon earth, another Siberia, and only fit for the reception of malefactors and the vilest of the people." In this same year (1620) negro slavery was introduced into the colony, not by the company, but by the private cupidity of some of the settlers in Jamestown, who purchased twenty negroes from a Dutch ship which had put in there for the purposes of trade.

Such was the composition of the community which the

was set to leaven with Christian truth and practice.
t strange that out of such moral and social chaos
nd propriety could not be speedily evolved.

21 Sir Francis Wyatt succeeded Yeardley as gov-
nd he came out bringing a written constitution of
nent. In certain articles of instruction which he
first recommendation was: "To take into especial
the service of Almighty God and the observance of
ine laws and that the people should be trained in
igion and virtue. And since their endeavours for
ablishment of the honour and rights of the church
nistry had not yet taken due effect, they were re-
to employ their utmost care to advance all things
ining to the Order and Administration of Divine
according to the form and discipline of the Church
and. . . . They were to use all probable means of
over the natives to a love of civility and to the
lge of God and his true religion; to draw the best

among them, who received kind treatment; for, while the letter of the colonial law in ecclesiastical matters was the echo of the despotic courts in England, the church being assuredly established in the colonies as at home, the spirit of the administration was mild and equitable. This treatment of Puritans by churchmen has been contrasted with the treatment of churchmen by Puritans in New England. Jefferson, indeed, affirms that, with the exception of capital executions, the same intolerant spirit prevailed in Virginia as in Boston and Salem. But what may have been true fifty years later, under exceptional circumstances, is rejected by the calmer spirit of Bancroft as true of this period.[1] And, pleasant as is the recognition of the spirit of tolerance in Virginia at this time, it must be confessed that, backed by a powerful government and hierarchy in England, they had far less to fear from the presence of Puritans than Puritans, proscribed at home, might not unnaturally apprehend from the presence of churchmen among them. The colony was filled with hope, which begat tolerance, and, invigorated by immigration, seemed fairly set forward in the way of prosperity. These fair prospects, however, were soon to be blasted by an untoward and totally unexpected massacre by the Indians. The natives had given no sign; but for several years some thirty Indians had been maturing a conspiracy for the extirpation of the whites. On March 22, 1622, they fell upon the colonists and slaughtered, without distinction of age or sex, three hundred and forty-seven persons. As a result, many plantations were abandoned. Of eighty, only eight remained; and out of four thousand inhabitants, only about two thousand were left. Thorp, who had devoted himself to the interests of the Indians, was among their victims.

A spirit of unrelenting severity was not unnaturally

[1] Bancroft, "United States," vol. i., pp. 156–196.

engendered in the minds of the colonists by this massacre. Previous to it the general sentiment had been kindly, but not without exception. A year before the massacre, Rev. Jonas Stockham, in a letter written to Whitaker to be forwarded to the council, had declared that "Mars and Minerva" must go hand in hand to effect any good among the Indians, and that "till their Priests and Ancients have their throats cut there is no hope to bring them to conversion." This exceptional opinion now became general. Smith, in his "Virginia," says the massacre "caused them all to believe the opinion of Master Stockham." The thought of civilizing the Indians was deemed chimerical; the purpose to assist them was denounced as enthusiastic. After all the appointments and endowments, neither the college at Henrico nor the Indian school at Charles City was proceeded with. Years elapsed before the attempt to establish a college was renewed. Indian missions had received their death-blow.[1] The colony slowly recovered from the great disaster. Among the thirty-five laws passed two years after it, the first seven were devoted to the interests of the church, providing for the erection of houses of worship, and setting apart of burial-grounds; also for uniformity of faith and worship with the English Church; enforcing attendance at public worship, enjoining respectful treatment and the payment of a settled stipend to the colonial clergy, and prescribing a yearly fast on the anniversary of the massacre; but no mention was made of religious exertions for the natives. The adoption of these laws was the last act of legislation which affected the church under the government of the company. On June 16, 1624, the charter was annulled by a judicial decree, and Virginia passed under the immediate control of the king. The decree was brought about by James I. because he

[1] Hawks, "Virginia," p. 41.

thought it likely to please Spain (to a princess of which country he wished to marry Prince Charles), and also because he was offended at the resistance to his attempts to coerce the action of the company, who had failed to appoint all his nominees to office. Every misfortune of the colony served as an argument for abrogating its charter; and a special ground of accusation was lack of missionary zeal for the conversion and education of the Indians.

This change of government produced no direct alteration in religious matters. The previous laws continued in force. The decisions of the High Court of Commissioners at home were acknowledged as authoritative, but distance relaxed their practical severity. The church slowly gathered strength, and, being considered a branch of the Establishment at home, claimed the protection of the same laws. Thus when, in 1628, Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, visited Virginia, the Assembly voted to require of him to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. Sir John Henry became governor in 1629, and then mildness in the administration of ecclesiastical laws ceased. During the previous years of the colony's existence no record is found of any severity inflicted for nonobservance of the ordinances of the church; but now an act was passed, at Henry's instigation, enjoining, under severe penalties, strict conformity to the canons of the church. The harsh enactments of this period are not so much an evidence that religion was at a low ebb as that the severity now become the fashion in England was deemed to be an acceptable offering to the authorities there. The punishments inflicted were at first for practical, not doctrinal offenses; not for holding a different faith, but for not living up to that which all received. This, however, soon changed. Fresh laws were enacted for the expulsion of Puritans, and threats were issued against all who showed sympathy with them.

as done while there were no Puritans in the colony
event the infection from reaching this country."[1]
ral, Henry's tyranny was so intolerable that the As-
(1635) thrust him out of the government, in which,
r, he was reinstated by the king; and the church
nder the Assembly, and the Assembly being now
subject to the governor, the church was the chief
. Her vital energies sank rapidly under the baneful
es which oppressed her. The appeal of the colonists
isters, for whose support they themselves began to
, met with a lamentable response. "Very few of
nversation would adventure thither, yet many came
wore black coats and could babble in a Pulpit, roare
ern, exact from the Parishioners, and rather by their
eness destroy than feed their flocks. The country
th to be wholly without teachers, and would there-
her retain these than be destitute, yet endeavours

of the colony, and it provoked reaction. Up to Henry's arrival (1629) the colonists were content to remain in the bosom of the church in which they had been reared. Now, as a consequence of the exasperation of his rule, an appeal, signed by seventy-one persons, was made, in the first year of his successor's (Sir William Berkeley) administration, to the General Court of Massachusetts, "to send ministers of the gospel into that region, that its inhabitants might be privileged with the preaching and ordinances of Jesus Christ."[1] In consequence, three persons went out as Congregational missionaries to the Church of England in Virginia. An act of the legislature of the same year cut short their stay. All non-Episcopal ministers were by it forbidden to officiate in the colony. Yet, as Governor Winthrop says, "Though the State did silence the ministers because they would not conform to the order of England, yet the people resorted to private houses to hear them."[2] But the attachment of Virginia to the Church of England was overwhelming and conscientious, though, even among devoted churchmen, tyranny provoked such symptoms of revolt. When the revolution came, and the Commonwealth was established in England, Virginia was loyal. She was the last colony to submit to the Parliament. Sir William Berkeley had come over as governor in 1642, instructed to keep out innovations in religion; and when, after the execution of Charles I., he resolved not to surrender to the Parliament without a struggle, he was backed by large numbers of Cavaliers, who had drifted during the political troubles of England into Virginia, whose population was now computed at twenty thousand. When at last obliged to capitulate, he succeeded in securing terms liberal for the time. It was stipulated that, in regard to church

[1] Emerson, "Historical Sketch of the First Church in Boston," p. 75.
[2] Savage, "Winthrop"; Hubbard, "History of New England."

he use of the Book of Common Prayer should be
ed for one year ensuing, "provided that those parts
elate to Kingship and government be not used
ely;" also "the continuance of ministers and the
t of their dues to be left as they were, for the year
" It is probable that a further use of the Prayer-
as connived at; for, while "no formal injunction
ence to the doctrine and discipline of the English
occurs in any records of the Grand Assembly dur-
Commonwealth, all matters relating to the minis-
parochial affairs were left to the discretion of the
In the exercise of their discretion, the majority of
ple were anxious to retain, and it is believed did
he teaching of the Church of England."[1]
result of the political disturbance there was an in-
f unconcern about religion. Many places became
e of ministers; for the people ceased to pay their

and should he refuse to take his child to be baptized by a lawful minister within the county, he should be amerced two thousand pounds of tobacco. No Quakers were hanged, as in New England; but the proscription of them by Cromwell during the Commonwealth, and the dread of them subsequently (which led Charles II. to write to the colony of Massachusetts, "We cannot be understood to wish that any indulgence be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers"), engendered a kindred spirit in Virginia, and gave rise to a decree which exacted a penalty of a hundred pounds from the commander of any vessel which should bring a Quaker into the colony; and ordered that all Quakers who might arrive should at once be imprisoned until they had given security to depart; that if they returned a third time they were to be tried as felons; and that no person was to entertain Quakers, or permit any of their assemblies to be held in or near his house, upon pain of paying a hundred pounds. That there was political motive mingled with this religious proscription is true; and it is also true that the early Quakers were very different from their more peaceable descendants. But the principle of religious toleration was also wholly absent. When James II. ascended the throne the dread of popery added a new element to the ecclesiastical situation. The rumor of a plot between the Indians and the few papists in the colony excited a great commotion; and, loyal as Virginia had been to the Stuarts, the accession of William and Mary gave great relief and was heartily welcomed.

In the meantime, after Berkeley had been reinstated by the royal commission of Charles II., the control in ecclesiastical matters had been put in the hands of twelve vestrymen in each parish, who were to fill their own vacancies. This had a great influence on the state of the church; for the taxes for the support of the church and of the poor

subservient to the will of those who su
were many good men among them;
such that the character of many neit
deserved respect. In the report of Be
Commissioners of Foreign Plantations
the colony, wherein he reported a popu
sand, including two thousand negro sla
white servants, he speaks thus of the
forty-eight parishes, and the ministers v
by my consent would be better if they
and preach less. But of all other com
the worst are sent us. But I thank G
schools, nor printing, and I hope we s
hundred years." The governor doubt
vailing sentiment of the community;
was not stimulating to earnestness a
number of parishes was often twice as g
of the clergy. Morgan Godwin, who
at Christ Church, Oxford, and an ordai
ginia, and afterward a missionary in the
in a letter to Berkeley that "two-thir
are made up of leaden lay-priests of th
tion [evidently lay readers] and are
shame of the rightly ordained clergy
this ever reaches your Excellencies ear
t

void for many years to save charges. Jamestown, he distinctly states, had been left, with short intervals, in this destitute condition for twenty years. "All things," he adds, "concerning the church and religion were left to the mercy of the people. And, last of all, to propagate Christianity among the heathen, whether natives or slaves brought from other parts, although (as must piously be supposed) it were the only end of God's discovering these countries to us, yet is that lookt upon by our new race of Christians, so idle and ridiculous, so utterly needless and unnecessary, that no man can forfeit his judgment more than by any proposal looking or tending that way."

This melancholy state of things was not permitted to exist without some effort to remedy it. In a pamphlet entitled "Virginia's Cure," by one who declares himself to have been an eye-witness for two years of the things which he describes, the state of affairs in the colony was brought to the notice of the Bishops of London and Winchester. After stating many of the evils we have already noticed, he appeals for the presence of a bishop in order to counteract them. There seems to have been a serious attempt to grant this appeal. The nomination of the Rev. Alexander Murray to that office was, according to Anderson, actually declared at one period of Clarendon's administration; but the matter proceeded no further. However, in 1689, the Rev. James Blair, a Scotchman, whom Compton, Bishop of London, persuaded to go as a missionary to Virginia in 1685, was appointed commissary of the bishop, the first commissary duly commissioned for any of the colonies. He had authority, as representative of the bishop, to make visitations throughout the territory assigned to him. He could inspect churches, deliver charges, and in some measure administer discipline; but his appointment was a very imperfect remedy for the existing evils. Confirmation and

ordination were still left in abeyance, and thorough discipline was impossible. Dr. Blair, however, magnified his office. He was a practical man, of clear mind and indefatigable perseverance; and, being sincerely religious, his services proved invaluable to the church in Virginia. He at once perceived that the colony must educate its own clergy in order to secure men apt to the situation; and so he at once set about the revival of the project for the erection of a college, originally suggested in 1662. Receiving authority from the provincial legislature to present to William and Mary the petition for a charter to found the college, he went to England for that purpose. The queen was favorable, and the king gave two thousand pounds due to the crown from Virginia. The merchants of London had already given twenty-five hundred pounds, and Blair himself contributed, from a sum presented to him by the Grand Assembly. The institution, according to Dr. Blair, never received the benefit of one half of what was thus given. He met with discouragements and difficulties at every step. When he urged Seymour, the attorney-general, to prepare the required charter, begging him to consider that the people in Virginia had souls to be saved as well as the people in England, the answer was, "Souls! Damn your souls! Make tobacco." But the charter was signed February 8, 1692–93. It stipulated that the college should be called by the name of "William and Mary"; and in the autumn of the same year the General Assembly passed an act for the erection of the building on the ground between the York and James rivers, afterward chosen as the site of the city of Williamsburg. The proceeds of a tax on tobacco and a donation of twenty thousand acres of choice land, and certain dues imposed on skins and furs, were appropriated for the support of the institution. The privilege of returning a burgess to the

General Assembly was also conferred on the college; and Blair was appointed its first president. The building was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1705, and was with much labor rebuilt. The college eventually became a source of great usefulness, though for seventy years it rarely had more than twenty students at one time. It could not at once supply the want of clergymen, which was a principal object of its establishment. In the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs arising from this want the commissary was often brought into collision and disagreement with the civil authorities, especially with Governors Andros and Nicholson. The church, however, suffered no lasting disadvantage from these dissensions, which were in part occasioned by Blair's own lack of gentleness and forbearance. Whatever his infirmities, they were the faults of a man eminently in earnest; and it is written of him that, "with the single exception of Dr. Bray, the commissary of Maryland, there was no clergyman of the Establishment, ever sent to this country during its colonial existence, to whom the church in the southern part of the continent was more deeply indebted."[1] When he died, at the advanced age of eighty-eight, he had been in orders sixty-four years, commissary for Virginia fifty-three years, college president forty-nine years, and for fifty years a member of the king's council.

It was in the year after Dr. Blair's appointment as commissary (1690) that a new feature was introduced into the ecclesiastical life of the colony in the sending of a number of Huguenot refugees by King William to Virginia, followed in 1699 by another body of six hundred, with their clergy, under Philippe de Richebourg. In 1700 the Assembly of Virginia passed an act making these French refugees a distinct parish by themselves, and exempted

[1] F. L. Hawks, D.D., "Virginia," p. 75.

them from the payment of all taxes for seven years. They had their own minister, and worshiped after their own manner. This parish of King William, in the county of Henrico, formed an admirable addition to the society of Virginia. Many of the descendants of these Huguenots have been distinguished in the history of the State. A similar act of kindness was shown in 1713 to a small body of German emigrants, settlers above the falls of the Rappahannock, a frontier of civilization, whom it was a matter of interest to the colony to protect. Like the French, they were formed into a separate parish of St. George, with power to employ their own minister on their own terms, and were exempted from all ordinary taxes for ten years. Thus these two religious communities, differing each in its own way from the Establishment, were fostered by it.

At this same period laws were enacted for the suppression of vice and the restraint of blasphemy, which indicate a state of irreligion and immorality which the rulers might well seek to assuage by the introduction of the nobler elements of these foreign communities. However inadequate this civil regulation of religious offenses may seem in comparison with the discipline of a fully equipped church, it shows a determination of the government to assist the community in the light of religious obligation. Of this evidence is again given by the appropriation in 1718 of a thousand pounds for the education and maintenance of poor native children. Sir Alexander Spotswood went in person among the neighboring tribes of Indians, and prevailed upon them to send their children to be educated. He obtained native pupils from a distance of more than four hundred miles, and at his own expense established and supported a preparatory school on the frontiers, that Indian lads might be fitted for admission into the college without being far removed from their parents.

At this time (1720) we get a more accurate knowledge of the condition of the church than formerly. The whole number of counties in Virginia was twenty-nine, and there were forty-four parishes. These parishes, however, were of very unequal size. Some were very small, and some sixty miles long. In each parish there was a church, built of stone, brick, or wood, which was enlarged from time to time and sufficiently furnished for the decent performance of divine service. In the larger parishes there were one or more chapels of ease, so that the places of worship numbered about seventy. Every parish, moreover, possessed a dwelling-house for the minister, and some of them glebes of two hundred and fifty acres. More than half the churches of the Establishment were supplied with clergymen; and where there was no minister, services were performed by a lay reader. To outward appearance the condition of the church seemed prosperous; but, although a hundred and fifteen years had elapsed since the first clergyman landed in Virginia, the state of religion was low. There is evidence that some, both of the clergy and laity, were sincerely and deeply religious; but worthy and consistent Christians did not form a large class of the population. The cause is to be found largely in the manner of the appointment of the clergy and the absence of proper ecclesiastical control when once they came; and then in the consequent action of the laity, and their power, through the vestries, of silencing or starving a too faithful incumbent. The Bishop of London was the ultimate source of a clergyman's commission; but, with every disposition on his part to send only deserving clergymen into the colony, he was liable to be grossly deceived, and he had not a promising class to select from. Inferior powers and limited attainments were considered sufficient for a missionary to Virginia; and persons were often recommended because

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tainty of electors." Owing to the difficulty, expense, and danger of sending the children of the wealthy to England for their education, many were allowed to grow up with most imperfect training. The smallpox was at that period such a scourge as to greatly limit the number of applicants, both for orders and for education, to the mother-country. There was, in consequence, a great dearth of literary culture; and society, formed amid the influences of a plentiful provision for physical wants, was without a corresponding intellectual stimulus. The climate was charming, the scenery beautiful, the soil fertile, the needs of subsistence easily procured; but there was no city life, and none of the mental friction which comes of its busy intercourse. The planters lived by themselves on large estates. The cultivation of tobacco was the absorbing occupation. In exchange for this commodity, shipped directly in his own vessel, from his own port on the river or bay, the planter could receive at his own door everything which he required which he could not raise. He imported his common household utensils; and such repairs as he needed were done by his own hands on his own estate. The development of an aristocratic class was inevitable; a class characterized by a love of social intercourse and a liberal hospitality combined with high-bred courtesy, but unmarked by an enlarged intellectual cultivation. The commoner people formed a class by themselves. As merchants they were petty, if prosperous, and as mechanics less intelligent and progressive than they would have been had there been more general demand for their labor and more competition. While the chief towns, as Jamestown and Williamsburg, remained petty villages, there could be no vigorous development of an influential industrial class apart from the plantations, and there the institution of slavery served to generate an atmosphere unfavorable to

the existence of self-reliant and self-assertive workmen. Though the first slaves had been introduced as early as 1620, it was not until 1650 that, under the stimulus of the tobacco-culture, their number began to rapidly increase. Their presence served to place a stigma on the white population who were forced to labor with their hands. The laws regulating the colony in 1662 enacted that children should follow the condition of the mother, and thus mulatto children were slaves; and in 1667 the Virginia Assembly ordained that conversion and baptism should not set the slave free; for it had been a long-cherished idea that a heathen, but not a Christian, could be reduced to servitude. Thus the law intended to extend religious privileges to the slaves, and give them the benefit of Christian sacraments and teaching, tended also to perpetuate and extend the institution. When, in 1756, the population had reached 293,000, the negroes amounted to 120,000. It was under circumstances such as these that the church had to perform its task; imperfectly organized, for the most part poorly served, and hampered by the fetters of the state, rather than made independent by its support. It is not strange that it did not perform it well.

When, then, in 1740, Whitefield paid a visit to Virginia, the field was white for the harvest of his earnest enthusiasm. He was still looked upon as a clergyman of the Church of England, and the aged commissary cordially received him. By Blair's invitation he preached at Williamsburg and other towns of the province. He greatly stirred the people, and manifested the same power over the hearts and consciences of men here as everywhere. This visit stirred in many quarters a more earnest Christian zeal and life; but, while it in a degree affected the Establishment, it chiefly tended to build up dissenting communions, which from this time on became powerful.

A number of Scotch and Irish Presbyterians had for some years been gradually gathering in the outlying districts of eastern Virginia; and in 1740 and 1743 Samuel Morris, a man of unusual earnestness and devotion, held meetings for them in his house, reading passages to them from Luther's "Commentary on the Galatians," the "Pilgrim's Progress," and Whitefield's sermons. This incidental gathering became a movement, as the interest increased and the attendants multiplied. The attention of the Presbytery of New Castle in Delaware was called to it, and Robinson and Roan were sent to visit the people, and introduced among them the Confession of Faith. Samuel Davies, afterward president of Princeton College, New Jersey, was the most distinguished of those who organized and extended the operations of these assemblies. He was at this time a young man, of great talents and devoted piety. By his marked ability he won for them, against the opposition of Peyton Randolph, the attorney-general, the liberty of celebrating without molestation their religious services. On his arrival he complied with the laws of the colony concerning dissenters. He obtained a license for each meeting-house, taking the oaths of fidelity to the government, and subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with certain enumerated exceptions; such as the Thirty-fourth, "concerning traditions of the church;" the Thirty-fifth, "of the homilies;" the Thirty-sixth, "of the consecration of bishops and ministers;" and so much of the Twentieth as declares "the church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and is of authority in matters of faith." He thus obtained licenses for four meeting-houses, to which three more were soon added. He divided his labors among these seven, some of which were forty miles distant from one another. In three years he had gathered large congregations and enrolled three hundred communicants. The

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ministered often in vacant churches where there was no clergyman, and, being in easy circumstances, determined to devote himself exclusively to keeping alive and quickening piety in the church of his fathers. As was written of him, " In a dark day, when desolation and death seemed brooding over her interests, he commenced a career of active exertion, and by efforts of the most disinterested nature revived the attachment of her friends and kept her from descending to the dust. Even when encumbered with the weight of years his labors were continued, and were fruitful. A welcome visitor everywhere, beloved by rich and poor, he gathered large and attentive audiences, and ministered faithfully to their souls. It is grateful to recognize so earnest a spirit among the laity amid the spiritual dearth of the clergy. It is a striking instance of the power of the church to promote its true life when once the spirit of life animates its members and ministers."

A cause which alienated, to a vast extent, the affections of the people from the church lay not merely in the spiritual supineness of the ministry, but chiefly in a determined effort on their part to defend themselves from the exactions of the laity in regard to their stipends. These were payable, by the law of 1696, in tobacco; and whatever affected the price of this commodity affected the living of the clergy. In 1755 and 1758 there was a great scarcity in the tobacco crop, and prices rose accordingly. A relief act was in each of these years passed, allowing parishioners to pay their dues to the clergy at the old price of tobacco; that is, at two thirds less than its present market price. The clergy appealed, through their commissary, to the Bishop of London and the Board of Trade at home, and finally to the king; and they appealed successfully. The act of 1758 was declared null and void. The clergy, through one of their number, brought the question to an issue in the pro-

vincial courts, and the court decided in their favor. This judgment was most unwelcome to the general public; but the only point which remained for the jury to determine was the amount of damages sustained by the plaintiff. The defendants would not give up. They secured Patrick Henry who had even then a considerable reputation for courage and eloquence, to argue their case in the ensuing term. So great was the interest excited that, when the case came on, multitudes unable to gain admission to the court-room clambered up the windows to see and hear what they could. Henry denounced as intolerable the decision of the council at home, and declared that the king, by whose authority such decision was enforced, was not a father of his people, but a tyrant. The jury, as well as the audience, were spellbound by the magic power of the advocate. The verdict of a penny damages proclaimed the greatness of his victory. He was carried in triumph from the court-room to receive the plaudits of the exulting multitudes without. The adverse influence excited against the whole church of Virginia by these proceedings was prodigious. The clergy as a body never recovered from the blow. They made no appeal against the verdict, and deemed all further resistance to be vain.

Though the cause of the clergy would now be generally deemed just, no time could have been more inauspicious than this for directing public attention to the subject of their claim. The low state of morals, both of the clergy and laity, had caused a corresponding reaction in the community against them. Various forms of dissent were becoming popular and prevalent. The Baptists were rapidly increasing, and their bitterness toward the church was extreme. It was not unnatural that it should be so. No dissenters in Virginia experienced, for a time, harsher treatment than the Baptists. They were beaten and imprisoned.

This persecution created for them hosts of friends. Crowds would gather around their prisons to hear them preach from the grated windows. Men began to suspect that the Established Church was proving a burden instead of a blessing. The disastrous issue of the parsons' cause gave fresh hope and courage to the assailants of the church. The followers of Wesley, also, began to appear in considerable numbers in Virginia. Though they claimed still to be a portion of the English Church, the fervor of their piety and the enthusiasm of their methods tended to create a distinction between them and the lethargic clergy of the Establishment. Some of them, however, it quickened. Jarratt, who had become spiritually moved by them, crossed the ocean and received ordination from the Bishop of Chester. On his return, shortly after the decision of the parsons' cause, he entered upon his labors in the colony. He excited the scorn of the formalists by the earnestness of his preaching; but amid all opposition he continued steadfast, multiplying his labors, never weary in his work for souls, and with hope unshaken for a better state of things. He clung with strong affection to his church in the midst of her humiliation. While others despised and forsook her, he renewed the expression of his belief in the truth of her doctrine and apostolic order and the edifying spirit of her worship. To him, and such as he, the first workings of the renewed energy of the church in Virginia are to be traced.

The political aspect of affairs was also now tending to the disadvantage of the Establishment. Since the ecclesiastical and civil institutions of the mother-country were regarded as inseparable, in losing affection for the king, men lost affection for the church. "No king, no bishop!" seemed to them to be the consistent cry. When, then, the clergy of New York, in 1771, sought their coöperation in their efforts to obtain the presence of a bishop in America,

they failed. But few of the Virginia clergy could be induced to come together to consider the question. Not more than twelve appeared in council. After at first rejecting the proposal, they finally voted to address the king, asking for the appointment of a bishop in America. Soon after, four of them entered a formal protest, asserting that the establishment of an American episcopate would weaken the connection between the mother-country and the colonies, and might occasion such disturbances as would endanger the existence of the British empire in America. For this protest these clergymen received the thanks of the House of Burgesses, although many of the members of this House were members of the Established Church. The Rev. Jonathan Boucher and others denounced in severe terms the protest of the four clergymen and the approval of it by the House of Burgesses. Thus at the dawn of the Revolution the church was in a most lamentable condition. Without were fightings and within were fears.

At the beginning of hostilities, perhaps two thirds of the clergy and a portion of the laity were loyalists. Many distinguished clergymen, however, such as Jarratt and Madison, afterward Bishop of Virginia, also Messrs. Griffith, Davis, Bracken, Belmaine, and Buchanan, were earnest patriots. Some clergymen entered the ranks of the army and became distinguished officers, such as Muhlenberg and Thruston. Many of the laity, with Washington at their head, and including Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, the mover of the Declaration of Independence, his brother, Francis Lightfoot Lee, one of the signers, George Mason, Edmund Pendleton, with the families of the Nelsons, the Meades, the Mercers, the Harrisons and Randolphs, and many others, were strong and influential patriots.

In the autumn after the Declaration of Independence a contest arose for the destruction of the temporal possessions

of the church in Virginia. Petitions poured into the State convention from the various religious sects of Virginia, as well as from the irreligious, praying for the abolition of church establishments. The members of the church and the Methodists alike joined in the counter-petition, but from this time all laws were repealed which declared the church to be the dominant teacher in the colony. All dissenters, also, were exempt from contributing to the support of the church. The glebes and the churches and chapels already built were retained for their congregations; but ultimately, after the Revolution, the legislature decreed that all glebe-lands in Virginia should be sold for the benefit of the public.

During the war the sufferings of the loyalist clergy were, of course, many and grievous. The prohibition to pray for the king was enforced upon them, some yielding and some refusing to yield. Political animosity and ecclesiastical hatred alike marked them out for victims. The church itself became desolated. Whereas at the beginning of the war Virginia contained ninety-five parishes, a hundred and sixty-four churches and chapels, and ninety-one clergymen, at its conclusion twenty-three parishes were entirely extinguished, and of those remaining thirty-four were without any clerical ministration. Only twenty-eight of the clergy survived; and of these not more than fifteen had been able to remain steadfast at their posts. The churches and chapels in almost every parish had fallen into ruin. They had during the war often been used as barracks or stables. The service-books and the communion-plate disappeared, and fonts were used for watering-troughs. When the war was ended, sorely smitten by poverty, and burdened with the prejudices excited by its connection with England, the church had to set to work to repair its property and reëstablish its spiritual rule. Pri-

vate enterprise without some legal assistance seemed wholly inadequate to the purpose. Accordingly, in 1784, a number of petitions were presented to the legislature, praying that, "as all persons enjoy the benefit of religion, all might be required to contribute to the expense of supporting some form of worship or other." The Protestant Episcopal Church, as the former Church of England now called itself, set forth that their church labored under many inconveniences and restraints by the operation of sundry laws in force, and prayed that all acts which directed modes of faith and worship might be repealed; that the vestry laws might be amended; that the churches, glebe-lands, donations, and all other property heretofore belonging to the Established Church might be forever secured to them by law; and, above all, that an act might be passed to incorporate the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, and to enable its members to regulate all their spiritual concerns, and constitute such canons for their government and good order as were suited to their religious principles. There were petitions of an opposite character, which prayed that no step might be taken in aid of religion, but that it might be left to its own superior and successful influence. The united clergy of the Presbyterian Church protested against incorporating religious societies. A resolution, however, was passed, by a majority of nearly one third of the House, that acts ought to pass for the incorporation of all societies of the Christian religion which might apply for the same.

Patrick Henry was a strong advocate of this measure, and was charged, by reason of it, with advocating the reëstablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The same day on which this resolution was adopted leave was given to introduce a bill for the incorporation of the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Mr. Henry was one

of the committee appointed to bring in the bill. The bill provided that the minister and vestry of each parish should be a body corporate, allowed to acquire and use property, provided the income did not exceed eight hundred pounds per annum. They had power to make their own regulations for the management of their temporal concerns; and the vestry had the ordering of the payment of all moneys of the church. If in any parish there were no minister or vestrymen left, any two members of the Protestant Episcopal Church were authorized to call together all Episcopalians resident within that parish, who could elect, by a majority of votes, twelve discreet men, members of the church, who, when elected, should constitute a vestry. Vestrymen, when elected, before entering on their duties, were required to subscribe a declaration to conform to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church. They then appointed from their own number two churchwardens, and could supply any vacancies occurring among themselves until the succeeding triennial election. All former laws made for the government of the church or clergy during the colonial existence of the State were repealed, and the church was authorized to regulate all her religious concerns and make such rules as she saw fit for orderly and good government. The Convention was to be composed of all ministers of the church *ex officio* and of two laymen from each parish, to be chosen by their respective vestries. Forty persons were necessary to constitute a Convention; and it was provided that no law should be made whereby clergymen might be received into or removed from a cure contrary to the consent of a majority of the vestry. The jealousy of the clergy manifest in these regulations was a heritage of the sad experience of the past.

No complaint was made by the clergy against these provisions. The passage of the resolution was hailed with

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The Baptists also joined in opposing it; and by the advocacy of Mr. Jefferson an act was passed, by the legislature of 1785, entitled "An Act for establishing Religious Freedom." This act decrees that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief, but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

Such was the state of opinion and the condition of affairs when the first Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia was held after the Revolution. On the 18th of May, 1785, thirty-six clergymen and seventy-one laymen assembled in the city of Richmond, and were organized by the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Madison, president of William and Mary College, as presiding officer. The Rev. Robert Andrews was made secretary. The first resolution adopted by the House, sitting as a committee of the whole, on the state of the church was "that an address be prepared to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, representing the condition of the church, and exhorting them to unite in its support." In this document it is stated that since the year 1776 the church had been without regular government; that her ministers had received but little compensation for their services, and that their numbers had been diminished by death and other causes, and that as yet there was no recourse in themselves for a succession of ministers; that their churches stood in need of repair, and that there was no fund to accomplish it. Voluntary subscriptions by the several vestries were recommended to furnish a competent

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At a meeting held on the 6th of the succeeding October, in New York, the Rev. Dr. Griffith attended as a delegate from Virginia. This purely voluntary assemblage proposed certain principles of ecclesiastical union, to be submitted to the churches of the several States. The Virginia Convention, after expressing a willingness to unite in the changed ecclesiastical constitution with the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the other States of America, accepted with some criticism the articles proposed as the basis of union. They elected deputies to the proposed Convention in Philadelphia, and gave them general instructions as to the course they were to follow. These deputies were the Rev. Dr. Griffith, the Rev. Mr. McCroskey, with John Page and William Lee, Esquires, laymen. Their instructions urged the deputies to liberality and moderation in procuring uniformity in doctrine and worship, advocated simplicity of creed, and desired only the retention of the Apostles' Creed. They deprecated any but the most cautious changes in the liturgy, and desired that utility might be the test of such ceremonies as might be retained. After instructing the deputies to communicate to the General Convention the proposition concerning Danish ordination, a standing committee was appointed, to which was confided the power of calling a Convention.

The impulse given to the church under this new organization seems to have roused still further the animosity of its opponents. The Presbyterians and Baptists now circulated memorials to the legislature, asking not merely for a repeal of the law incorporating the church, but also that the property of the church might be disposed of for the benefit of the public. At the next Convention of the church, in May, 1786, a petition to the legislature was prepared, to counteract the effect of the hostile memorials of the Baptists and Presbyterians; but it was of no avail. In

January, 1787, the act for incorporating the Episcopal Church was repealed. In May, 1787, the third Convention of the church assembled, but not, as before, under an act of incorporation. It was held that the effect of the repeal of that act returned the powers of the government and discipline of the church to the members at large. The members of the church in the several parishes had, therefore, been invited to elect two deputies from each parish, with full powers to form and establish such regulations for government, discipline, and worship as they might deem best; and to provide means for the care and proper use of such property as remained to the church. The diminished number of those who thus came together showed that the church had become disheartened by the persevering hostility of its opponents, and that many looked upon a further contest as hopeless. Its enemies had not as yet succeeded in procuring a distribution of its property. They left it in the condition in which it stood at the close of the Revolution, with this change, however: that, having now assumed an organized form, it could better distinguish between its friends and its foes.

Previous to this time the Convention of the church which was held in Richmond May 24, 1786, had received the report of the representatives to the General Convention, and a journal of the proceedings of that body was also presented. The proposed constitution of the church met with a ready adoption. Objections were raised to the Proposed Book and its obligatory use, but the Prayer-book finally adopted was received, and the Virginia church came into union with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. As the General Convention had recommended the election of a suitable person to be presented to the English prelates for consecration as Bishop of Virginia, such an election was held; and the Rev. Dr. Grif-

fith was chosen by a large majority. He was never consecrated, because, by reason of his own poverty and that of his church, means were not forthcoming to pay the expenses of a journey to England. He was a man of high character, and would have nobly filled the position to which he was thus called.

Two deputies were appointed to attend the next General Convention. The Rev. Dr. Griffith was one of them. Until episcopal supervision could be had, the State was divided by this Convention into twenty-four districts, and a visitor was appointed for each of them. The powers of the standing committee were defined, and during the recess of Conventions it was to take care generally of the interests of the church.

On the 20th of June, 1786, the delegates from Virginia, Dr. Griffith and the Hon. Cyrus Griffin, appeared in Philadelphia in the General Convention; and Dr. Griffith was made its president. With this act we may fitly terminate the history of the church of Virginia as an independent organization.

CHAPTER III.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN MARYLAND.

THE fortunes of the Church of England in Maryland were not unlike those which befell the church in Virginia. The social characteristics of the two colonies were similar. The soil and climate were alike. Tobacco was the chief agricultural product of both, and its culture influenced to a marked degree the social habits of the community, while its fluctuations in value constituted the chief influence on their fortunes. In consequence of this absorbing interest in one product of the soil, commerce was depressed, and plantations took the place of towns, causing the population to be scattered, and strongly influencing the manners of the people and their modes of life. As in Virginia, slavery flourished, and convicts were imported for laborers, who, on the termination of their sentences, were apt to become an idle and dangerous element in the community. There was a distinct aristocratic class, though the distinction between planters and small farmers was not so marked as in the neighboring colony. There were more varieties of religious association, however. This, in the beginning, arose in great measure from the proprietary rule, which was a marked distinction of the colony.

George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who in 1623 had acquired a palatinate in the southeastern part of Newfoundland, finding that climate too severe for a colony, embarked

for Virginia. Having, however, become a Roman Catholic in 1625, he declined to take the oath of supremacy, and returned to England. Here he obtained a territory afterward named Maryland, in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria; but dying before the charter passed the seal, the grant was made to his son, Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, in 1632. The charter, which was modeled on that of Avalon in Newfoundland, while Calvert was still a Protestant, made Lord Baltimore and his heirs proprietaries of the territory, which was to be a palatinate (like that of Durham in England), so that his prerogatives were almost regal. There was a formal and nominal acknowledgment of the fief in the annual payment of two Indian arrows and a fifth of all gold and silver which might be discovered; but the proprietary was to own the land, levy taxes, constitute courts, confer titles, and exercise, under a lax system of feudation, sovereign powers, both civil and military. In regard to religion the charter gave the proprietary the patronage and advowsons of churches, and empowered him to erect churches, chapels, and oratories, which he might cause to be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England. He was not, however, prevented from exercising full toleration to all religious bodies, and it was understood that Roman Catholics were not to be molested in the use of their customary rites of worship. Of course any attempt on the part of a Roman Catholic holding his patent from the crown of England to proscribe Protestants would have endangered and doubtless destroyed the colony; and the system of toleration which he adopted may have been defensive of himself and his co-religionists.

Though politic, Calvert was of a lenient disposition, as his father had been before him. While he aimed to provide a safe asylum for adherents of his own creed, he was mainly concerned to build up a lucrative and flourishing

colony, whatever might be the creed of its inhabitants. From the beginning a majority of the settlers were Protestants, and their proportion in the colony constantly increased. Already, before the founding of St. Mary's by the Pilgrims of Maryland, Virginia churchmen were living on the Isle of Kent, opposite the present site of Annapolis, at the mouth of the Chester River, and had the ministrations of a clergyman, though there was no church. Claybourne of Virginia, who had planted the settlement as a depot for fur-traders, and who professed to be a Protestant, but who, it has been said, "could be a churchman, Puritan, Cavalier, or Roundhead with equal ease and equal sincerity," disputed the rights of Calvert's company, when it came, to its possession. He was, however, finally dispossessed.

Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, never visited the territory of which he had obtained the patent; but Leonard Calvert, his brother, came as his representative early in 1634, with about twenty gentlemen and two or three hundred laborers, accompanied by two Jesuit priests. They founded the town of St. Mary's, on the site of an Indian town on the Chesapeake, which they purchased from the friendly inhabitants, who were about to emigrate from it. Here the Protestant members of the community erected a chapel, and held religious services according to the usage of the Church of England as well as they could without a clergyman. The Puritan exiles from Virginia were encouraged to plant themselves on the banks of the Severn, and even those of Massachusetts were approached with friendly invitation. For Lord Baltimore, though remaining in England, prescribed from 1636 onward for his governors the following oath: "I will not by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, trouble, molest, or discountenance any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in

respect of religion: I will make no difference of persons in conferring offices, favors, or rewards, for or in respect of religion; but merely as they shall be found faithful and well deserving, and endued with moral virtues and abilities: my aim shall be public unity, and if any person or officer shall molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, on account of his religion, I will protect the person molested, and punish the offender."

Such an anticipation of freedom of conscience and civil-service reform reflects the highest credit on both the heart and intelligence of Calvert. He had not learned it from the English Church, which his father had left; nor from the Roman Church, which he had joined; nor from the Puritans of Massachusetts, who deemed it as "a doctrine of devils." It was the outcome of his own convictions and kindly nature, and placed him distinctly among the benefactors of mankind. In 1648 Leonard Calvert, after the death of his brother Cecilius, gave a commission as governor to William Storer, a Protestant, subject to the condition of the oath that "none who accepted the fundamental doctrines of Christianity should be molested on account of their religion." A special oath was, moreover, required that Roman Catholics should be protected against interference with their belief and worship. Then, in 1649, the notable Act of Religious Freedom was passed by the Assembly, by which liberty of conscience in matters of religion was guaranteed by the governing body to all Christians, with the exception of disbelievers in the doctrine of the Trinity. This act of the Maryland legislature declared "that the enforcement of the conscience had been of dangerous consequence in those countries wherein it had been practiced, and therefore that no persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the belief or

exercise of any other religion against their consent; so that they be not unfaithful to the proprietary, or conspire against the civil government; that persons molesting any other in respect of his religious tenets should pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and twenty shillings to the proprietary; that those reproaching any with opprobrious names of religious distinction should forfeit ten shillings to the persons injured; that any one speaking reproachfully against the Blessed Virgin or the apostles should forfeit five pounds; but blasphemy against God should be punished with death." By this action of the Maryland government, the direct outcome of the spirit of its founder, "religious liberty," to use the language of Mr. Bancroft, "obtained its only home in the wide world." Let no one withhold the meed of grateful admiration because the real author was a member of the Roman branch of the Catholic Church. He was in advance of that church and all others. His praise should be in all the churches which enjoy the heritage of liberty and peace.

The first enactment against religious liberty in Maryland came from men who had fled there from persecution, and was aimed at those who had afforded them an asylum. It occurred in 1654, during the period of the Commonwealth in England. Under the instigation of Clayborne, who had disputed the right of Maryland to the Isle of Kent, Storer, the Protestant governor appointed by Calvert, was deposed, and the regulation of affairs was handed over to a Puritan Council of Six, with Captain Fuller as their leader. These at once withdrew the legal protection of the Roman Catholics. The legislature convened by them passed "An Act Concerning Religion," which declared that "none who professed and exercised the popish (commonly called the Roman Catholic) religion could be protected in this province, etc., but to be restrained from the exercise thereof.

That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from, but protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion, etc., *provided* such liberty was *not extended to popery or prelacy.*" This state of affairs, however, was reversed, and legal protection was again accorded to Roman Catholics at the Restoration, by Philip Calvert, whom Charles II. appointed governor after he had ascended the throne. Henceforth all political affairs remained tranquil in the colony until the English Revolution of 1688, when the proprietary rule was finally abolished.

During all this period there is little or no mention of the English Church. It first emerged into notice in 1676, in a letter written to the Archbishop of Canterbury by a Rev. Mr. Yeo, of Patuxet, in which he declared that "the province of Maryland is in a deplorable condition for want of an established ministry. Here are ten or twelve counties, and in them at least twenty thousand souls, and but three Protestant ministers of the Church of England. The priests are provided for, and the Quakers take care of those that are speakers; but no care is taken to build up churches in the Protestant religion. The Lord's day is profaned; religion is despised; and all notorious vices are committed." Mr. Yeo proceeds "to beg that your lordship would be pleased to solicit him [Lord Baltimore] for some established support of a Protestant ministry." No law for the support of the Protestant clergy was passed by reason of this letter, for Lord Baltimore, when appealed to, showed the Act of 1649, which allowed equal privilege to all Christian bodies alike, and also informed the committee who waited upon him that the four ministers of the Church of England then in the province were in possession of plantations which afforded them a decent support. From this

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government was at an end and the colony was ruled by the officers of the crown.

No serious opposition seems to have been made to this change. It is recorded that at this time "there were thirty Protestants to one papist in the province."[1] Resistance may have seemed hopeless, and the Roman Catholics themselves may have well feared the political policy, which, while it favored their religion, aimed a blow at their colonial rights. King William, mindful of Lord Baltimore's opposition to his accession, sanctioned the revolution which displaced him, and established for Maryland a royal government, with Sir Lionel Copley at its head. He arrived early in 1692, and the new order of things was ushered in by which the Church of England became in law the established church of Maryland.

Thus; not by the colonists, but by the crown, Protestant ascendency came in. One of the first acts of the Assembly convened by Copley was "An Act for the Service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion." The counties were laid out in parishes. A tax of forty pounds of tobacco per poll was laid for the benefit of the church, in the support of a ministry and the building and repairing of churches. The vestries were made bodies corporate to hold property, and were given power to fill all vacancies. For the thirty-one parishes into which the ten counties were divided there seem to have been but three ministers. Encouragement was therefore held out to induce clergymen to emigrate, and it would appear that a motley company of damaged reputations responded to the call. The population now numbered twenty-five thousand. It was much scattered, and the parishes were large in extent, being sometimes from

[1] Chalmers, "Annals," p. 376, note 24.

twenty to thirty miles in length; so that attendance on public worship was difficult, and parochial visiting, even to a faithful pastor, infrequent and almost impossible. Legal recognition or quasi-Establishment could do little for the spiritual welfare of a people under such conditions as these.

When Sir Francis Nicholson came in place of Copley as governor, which he did in 1694, the church received a new impulse from his energy and generosity. He could not, however, deepen its spiritual character. Active and arbitrary, a devoted supporter of the power of church and state, he ruled with diligence, but not always with wisdom. He could make himself popular with the people by his manner, and yet act tyrannically when his passions were excited. With his ardent temperament he threw himself into the cause of the church. He wrote in her behalf to arouse the interest of others, and gave liberally from his own resources. He is said to have contributed more to the erection of Episcopal churches than all the other colonial governors combined. Thirty houses of worship in various parts of the country owed their existence in great part to him. He found three church clergymen, six Roman priests, and a number of itinerant nonconforming Protestant preachers in the colony on his arrival. Several clergymen, however, accompanied him. He at once set to work to make the Establishment a reality, applying the arrears of what had been collected under the law of the Establishment, and now in the hands of the sheriffs and vestrymen, to the erection of churches in the parishes, and soon settled eight clergymen in them.[1] He at once began the erection of a brick church in Annapolis, which town was now made the capital of the colony, instead of St. Mary's. Roman Catholics and Quakers were both aroused to opposition by his energy; but he was more than a match

[1] Hawks, "Ecclesiastical Contributions," vol. ii.

for them. They together opposed the "forty per poll law." This law was sustained, but it gave a very sparse support to the clergy. The planters paid their tax with poor tobacco, not worth a fourth part as much as the quality which they reserved for themselves; so that, while the law contemplated a living worth a hundred pounds, twenty-five was often as much as the clergyman received. It was of this tax that the Rev. James McSparran wrote his sarcastic description in his "America Dissected": "A competent pension in a cheap country, were not physic dearer than food, and the demands for it (especially about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes) more frequent than the eatables."[1]

The clergy were also disquieted by the fear of the re-establishment of Roman Catholic ascendency, occasioned by the large immigration of Irish and the rumor that Lord Baltimore would be reinstated as governor. They therefore besought the Bishop of Lincoln to send out a commissary empowered to redress the wrongs of the church. This movement was supported by the governor and Assembly, who petitioned the king to annex the judicial to the ecclesiastical function of the commissary whom the Bishop of Lincoln should appoint. This was a movement of the greatest wisdom, and it resulted in the appointment of Dr. Thomas Bray, a man of noble and devoted character, who was drawn to the work by the denials and sacrifices which it involved, and who accepted the appointment with alacrity. Awake to the necessity of securing clergymen of character and intelligence for his missionaries, he spent four years before going out to his field of labor in securing parochial libraries for his clergy; and during his life he established thirty-nine of them in the colonies, some containing over a thousand volumes. He was indefatigable, also, in search-

[1] "History of the Narragansett Church," Appendix, p. 493.

ing for faithful men to take with him, and was able to increase the number of clergymen in Maryland to sixteen. To accomplish these ends he labored incessantly, and in them expended almost his whole earnings, refusing to accept his salary until he should depart for his post. He was, in fact, a very apostle of zeal and devotion, and, like an apostle, met opposition and rebuff on every hand. It was during this period of delay, but not of inaction, that he proposed and started the movement which resulted in the inauguration of two of the most influential societies of the English Church, namely, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The debt of the church in America to the latter is so immense that it may well hold in grateful remembrance the name of its chief founder, while it recalls the fact that the province in which he labored received less aid from the society he inaugurated than almost any of the American colonies. This result was due to the fact that the church, being by law established in Maryland, was supposed capable of taking care of itself. This Establishment and the troubles arising from it was the immediate occasion for the departure of Dr. Bray for America.

The new law of 1696, which superseded all the previous enactments of 1692, 1694, and 1695, had aroused the violent opposition of the Roman Catholics and the Quakers, and, chiefly by the management of the latter, had been annulled by Parliament in 1699. It was deemed expedient by the churchmen of Maryland that the commissary should now come out, and by his presence influence the Assembly to pass such an act as would secure the king's approval. Accordingly, on December 20, 1699, Dr. Bray sailed, himself defraying the expenses of his voyage by disposing of his effects and by resort to his credit. He arrived March

12, 1700, and at once set about the work in hand. Governor Nicholson welcomed him warmly, and, being of one mind in regard to the wisdom of an Establishment, they succeeded in securing the passage, by the unanimous vote of the Assembly, of a law of Establishment as stringent as the English law before the Act of Toleration. It is true that four fifths of the population were now classed as of the English Church, and that the other fifth was largely divided in sentiment and conviction, a good proportion of it being unattached to any religious body, and indifferent. But all the dissenters became one in opposition to a bill which required "every minister or reader in every church or other place of public worship within this province" to use the Book of Common Prayer as established by the English Church. It was the firm opposition to this law which finally deprived the colony of the benefit of the commissary's presence. Fearing its rejection by Parliament, the governor and churchmen of Maryland urged him to return to England to secure official approval of it. After, therefore, only a brief stay in America, Dr. Bray left for England, never to return to the colony, but also never to cease to labor for its welfare. In the meantime, before his departure was contemplated, and immediately after the Act of Establishment was passed by the Assembly, the commissary summoned all the clergy to a convocation, which was held in Annapolis May 23, 1700. Fourteen out of the seventeen clergymen came together, to whom he gave an earnest and solemn charge concerning both doctrine and discipline. In regard to the latter things had come to such a pass that "it was recommended that immediately upon the arrival of any ship in the waters of Maryland the nearest clergyman should make inquiry whether any minister was on board, and, if so, what his demeanor had been upon the voyage." This was with the

excluding any clergyman from settlement in any
he had been of evil report. At this same con-
Dr. Bray began the first missionary effort in any
olonies by trying to raise funds for a missionary to
kers in the neighboring province of Pennsylvania,
ged to the undertaking by the conversion to the
of sundry Quakers in Maryland. The attempt
little, but it showed the spirit of the man. "After
vocation the commissary made a visitation of his
abor. He found some faithful ministers, but more
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of the commissary in matters of discipline were,
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s, was jealous of interference with his preroga-
nd the easy-going people were more at ease with
going parson than with one of the strict and devout

tion. The most signal injustice was done by the act to the Roman Catholics, to whom the benefit of the Act of Toleration was not extended. And so, in the language of Dr. Hawks, "Maryland presented the picture of a province, founded for the sake of freedom of religious opinion by the toil and treasure of Roman Catholics, in which, of all who called themselves Christians, none save Roman Catholics were denied toleration."[1] Such legislation is the sarcasm of history, and in the end it failed to prosper those in whose interests it was enacted.

During the controversy over this matter, and to further the cause of the colony, the commissary printed a memorial which had the effect of arousing public interest. In it he stated that forty missionaries were wanted at once, and declared that the refuse of the clergy in England would not do for American missionaries. They must be young, strong enough to endure privation, learned, able to controvert the endless variety of religious opinions rife among the colonists, and have a true missionary spirit, and ardent zeal for God's glory and the salvation of men's souls. To obtain such men he proposed that each bishop should select some of his own clergy qualified and willing to go, and that each parish of the diocese be asked to contribute fifty pounds annually for the support of each missionary from that diocese. This trumpet-blast aroused the church. The plan failed; but the result was the establishment at last of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Such noble work can one devoted spirit accomplish! But he not only aroused others. Until the day of his death, in 1734, he never ceased to work for the church in Maryland, to contribute to its support, and to seek missionaries for it. He never returned to it, but he did more than all others to forward the interests of religion

[1] Hawks, "Ecclesiastical Contributions," vol. ii., p. 117.

s communion. Having ample experience of the
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s. He sought to empower three of the most repu-
the Maryland clergy to act as his representatives
g visitations and forwarding his purposes, to which
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receiving intelligence that a most profligate clergy-
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returned and secured one of the best parishes,
g one of the largest parochial libraries, he urged
op of London to send another commissary at once;
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by the governor, Dr. Bray sought to have the
n transferred to the commissary, who otherwise

which was to superintend the conduct of the clergy, was to consist of the governor and three laymen, and these were to have the power of suspension from the ministry. The measure was passed by the House of legislature, and only failed to become a law by the veto of the governor, who was a very Gallio in these matters. It roused the clergy to make a remonstrance to the Bishop of London; but the movement came to nothing. The scandals in the church went on. The burden falling on the faithful clergy was made the heavier by the neglect of the unfaithful. One of these faithful ones wrote thus to his bishop: "For four years I have served the whole county of Somerset, consisting of four parishes, so that six congregations are supplied by me. I must travel two hundred miles a month (on horseback), besides my charge in my own parish, which has a church and chapel, and is thirty miles long and sixteen to eighteen wide. I have received by my ministry and perquisites, since October last, but a poor ten shillings." Dissent flourished under this state of things, as was no wonder; and frequent disputes naturally occurred between incumbents and their vestries, so that the progress of ecclesiastical affairs was from bad to worse. Such was the result of the absence of all proper government and the presence of placemen eager for spoils, instead of priests eager for souls. The predominant idea of a state church at home threw its baleful shadow over the spiritual estate of the colonies. There was but a form of godliness, which denied the power thereof. "The Roman Catholics and dissenters looked with contempt upon an Establishment so profligate in some of its members that even the laity sought to purify it, and yet so weak in its discipline that neither clergy nor laity could purge it of offenders." [1]

[1] Maryland MSS.; from archives at Fulham.

When Governor Hart succeeded Seymour in 1714, a movement was made for the betterment of the anomalous condition of affairs; and, though the request of both the clergy and the governor for a bishop was denied, two commissioners were appointed, one for the eastern and one for the western shore of Maryland. The two commissioners, Rev. Christopher Wilkinson and Rev. Jacob Henderson, were both residents of Maryland, and both men of excellent character and acquirements. Wilkinson, who took the eastern shore, was less forcible than Henderson; but he kept better out of trouble, for he lived peaceably, while Henderson had many quarrels, and, by reason of a more dictatorial disposition, was at times quite out of harmony with the governor and others in authority. Wilkinson convened the seven clergymen of his district at once, and discovered an attempt of the landed proprietors, who were jealous and distrustful of commissioners, to starve out the incumbents by dividing the parishes until the tobacco tax would be insufficient for a clergyman's support. The temper of the legislature rendered the execution of this plan quite possible; so that the clergy petitioned the Bishop of London to intercede with Lord Guilford, the guardian of Lord Baltimore (who, though under age, was now proprietary, by reason of his father's conversion to Protestantism), to instruct the governor for the time being to pass no law relative to ecclesiastical matters without first allowing the commissioners or some of the clergy a hearing on the subject. The petition is significant in its disclosure of the alienation of the gentry from the church on account of the temporalities included—an alienation which a little later took the form of positive opposition.

Commissary Henderson, also, undertook a visitation on the western shore, but in a manner more energetic than discreet. Twelve clergymen and churchwardens from

thirteen parishes assembled at Annapolis. The commissary, with a commendable zeal, but with a lack of knowledge which was not commendable, took a high hand in calling the gentry to account for their morals, and in demanding the licenses and letters of orders from the clergy. His method alienated both the clergy and laity, and resulted in an estrangement between the commissioner and the governor which was lasting. The clergy, however, came to terms; and the commissioner, regaining their confidence, labored diligently for the church, with some measure of success. This exhibition of official importance, however, strengthened a prejudice already existing against any exercise of ecclesiastical power in the province by the Bishop of London, either directly or through a commissary. All who were conscious that such power might well call them to account took this occasion to awaken in the minds of the people a fear of a danger to their freedom from the introduction of ecclesiastical courts.

An attempt, however, was made by the governor, who was always friendly with Commissary Wilkinson, to have the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, as exercised by his commissaries, acknowledged by a formal act of the legislature. He contrived to put the whole body of the clergy between himself and the odium sure to follow from such an act, by making the clergy petition for it. It was rejected by the lower House; and the effect of the attempt to pass it was to further alienate the people and the gentry from the church, which from this time was regarded as a menace to colonial freedom. Harmony was restored by Hart's removal in 1720, when Charles Calvert assumed the government under authority from the proprietary. Calvert's father had become a Protestant, and he had been bred as one; and after his coming the church was more favored by legislation than heretofore.

The province now contained (1720) thirty-eight parishes in its twelve counties, fifteen on the eastern shore and twenty-three on the western shore of the Chesapeake. A commissary on each shore visited the churches once in three years. The clergy were assembled annually to consult on the discharge of their ministerial functions; but the commissaries ceased to require the churchwardens to make presentment of offenders, because the failure of the attempt to get legislative recognition of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London had convinced the people that the episcopal authority in Maryland had no well-founded claim. Thus discipline languished; for if the commissary tried an offender, there was no one to punish him if convicted. In fact, the church suffered from the fact of its establishment. It had no discipline of its own, and the ecclesiastical powers in England would not exercise at that distance disciplinary authority.

There were now about ten or eleven thousand church families in the province, and some three thousand communicants, such as they were. Notwithstanding the size of the parishes, some being nine and some seventy miles long, the sacrament was administered once in two months in most churches, and sometimes oftener, and the children were catechised in every parish at some part of the year. A clergyman's stipend was about fifty pounds, which was paid in tobacco.

A premature effort was at this time made to introduce a common-school system into the province, the masters in which were required to be members of the Church of England, of pious and exemplary life, "and capable of teaching well the grammar, good writing, and mathematics, if such can conveniently be got." One of the clergy was to be placed at the head of each board of visitors. The sparseness of the population, scattered over the immense parishes,

prevented the success of the scheme. To have considered it, however, was a cheering sign of life.

And now came on a long controversy between the clergy and the legislature, which, on various pretexts, attempted to divide the parishes and diminish the revenues. The Assembly took the ground that all the revenues of the church were completely within its power, and might be diminished without any invasion of the church's rights. Governor Calvert wrote the Bishop of London that the profligacy of the clergy afforded now little just cause of complaint; that the majority were orderly and exemplary, and all were attached to the home government. But the antagonism had become too deep-rooted to be suppressed. The opponents of the church found a most persistent and virulent leader in one Thomas Bordsley, who seems to have cherished his hatred of the clergy on political rather than on religious grounds. He introduced a bill to establish a court for the trial of clergymen, and thus to bring them under lay rule. The governor refused his assent. Many better men than Bordsley now joined with him, aggrieved by the imposition on them of inducted clergymen who were a disgrace to the church, and whom they could not get rid of. They saw no remedy but to legislate against the clergy. There was this measure of legal palliation for the movement: that the church had not been established under the proprietary rule, which was now in force, but during the interregnum, under William and Mary, while Maryland was a royal province. Under the royal government the Bishop of London had some, though insufficient, powers; but under the proprietary system all control was in effect destroyed, because the proprietor, under his charter, had authority to interfere with even the restricted powers of the bishop. The jurisdiction of a bishop or his commissary amounted to nothing while the

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Henderson returned, after this measure of success, his opponents threatened to mob him. He, however, administered such a sound thrashing to one who personally attacked him that his person was thereafter safe. He had been appointed commissary of both the eastern and western shores of Maryland during his visit to England, and he held visitations in each. But he found his powers of discipline negatived by the law of induction, and could not maintain the purity of the church as he desired.

In the meantime the governor, in defiance of the instructions of the lord proprietor, on hearing of his decision, convened an Assembly, and renewed the warfare on the church in another way. The whole province was agitated by the dispute. Distinguished lawyers took it up as well as prominent divines; and at last Lord Baltimore gave his assent to the law allowing the payment of the forty per poll tax in grain, and the legislature was triumphant over the church.

When, in 1731, Samuel Ogle succeeded Leonard, the proprietor's brother, as governor, he showed himself friendly to the clergy, and strove to bring about a better understanding between them and the laity. Lord Baltimore, too, coming over to see to the dispute with the Penn settlement about the boundary question, which involved the possession of Delaware, exerted a pacifying influence. But the old trouble of want of discipline remained; and Commissary Henderson at last ceased to claim or exercise any rights as commissary, and left matters to drift as well as they might. While, however, the spiritual condition of the church was deplorable, nowhere else in America were the livings so valuable. There were now thirty-six parishes in the province, and the incomes would average two hundred pounds per annum. Notwithstanding the law of 1730, reënacted in 1747, diminishing the amount of the

tobacco tax for clerical support, the improved condition of the country and the increase of inhabitants had more than compensated the loss; and yet all the controversies of the clergy had turned on this point of their living. Nothing spiritual or intellectual, no problems of theology or questions of efficient administration, had awakened their interest. The voice was the clamor for gain, the utterance of the worldliness of their hearts. "No wonder," writes Dr. Hawks, "that such a bastard Establishment as that of Maryland was odious to so many of the people; we think their dislike is evidence of their virtue." And no wonder that the Methodists, who now came in, swept the country; no wonder that the enthusiasm of the New Lights and other itinerant preachers found a hearty, if ignorant, response; no wonder that Quakers and Presbyterians from Pennsylvania gathered large numbers into their respective folds.

The Roman Catholic population was now increased by many French emigrants from Nova Scotia, and the first Roman church was erected in Baltimore about 1755. In 1760 the German Lutherans built themselves a small church in that city, which was only a village in reality. In 1763, notwithstanding all unfavorable circumstances, the Episcopal Church had so increased in Baltimore that a chapel of ease was erected for the parish of St. Paul's, whose first church was begun in 1732 and finished in 1744. It was in the year 1763 that the legislature reduced the salaries of the clergy one fourth; and the murmurings and bickerings which the act occasioned, while ineffectual, increased the irritation of the quarrel between the people and the Established Church. The state of affairs was such that but for the interruption of the American Revolution, according to Dr. Hawks, "the time would have come when the singular spectacle would have been presented of the

extinction of a church established by law, while no man could have found in the legislation of the country a statute expressly depriving it of its character as an establishment. Its downfall might have been traced in the side issues of an indirect legislation that from time to time assailed it."[1] When the clergy, in response to the appeal of the Episcopalians of the North, joined in a concerted action for an American episcopate, the governor informed them "that the livings in Maryland were all donations, or subject to the visitation and regulation of the patron alone, and therefore they stood in no need of episcopal supervision." This was the last meeting of the clergy for concerted action, Governor Eden, by command of the proprietor, issuing a mandate that they should convene no more.

As the time of the Revolution approached, political sentiment mingled with and intensified the hostility of the people to the Established Church. In 1770 the act of 1763, regulating the income of the clergy, expired. The legislature, by the disagreement of the two Houses, failed to reënact it. It had regulated the fees of all State officers; and Governor Eden, in the absence of legislation, resolved to regulate them by proclamation. In 1771 the Lower House denounced the proclamation as illegal, and asserted the right of taxation to be in the Assembly alone. The excitement was universal and intense, and in the end the people triumphed. As regards the church, when the act of 1763 lapsed, through failure to reënact it, the old act of 1702, by which the church was established, became the only statute regulating the assessment for the clergy. It increased the salaries of the clergy one fourth, for it restored the "forty per poll" tax of tobacco, in place of the "thirty per poll," as enacted by the law of 1763. The clergy were prompt to assert their claim; the people as

[1] Hawks, "Ecclesiastical Contributions," vol. ii., p. 247.

o resist it. The ground taken by the latter was
t as the Assembly which passed the act met under
election issued in the name of King William, and
d only on the 16th of March, while the king, un-
o them, had died on March 8th, their authority
ith the king's life; and that the act for the estab-
of the Church of England in Maryland, though
on for seventy years, had never been law.

nflict, therefore, for the church assumed the char-
an issue of life and death. On the part of the
he conflict wore the aspect of a contention for
rights. The principle which had all along been
ng in colonial legislation, "no representation, no
" was applied to this burning question. It was
nly by the Revolution, now fast approaching; but
st was violent, and drew forth distinguished com-
n both sides. The most prominent advocate for

before the war, and dedicated them to General Washington in a preface which contained a warm eulogium upon his character. This was acknowledged by Washington in terms which conveyed his high estimation of the author.

Boucher was also a warm friend of Seabury and White, and corresponded regularly with the former. He is an illustration of some of the worthy men who stood by the church and adorned her ministry when the faults of both clergy and laity had made her very name unpalatable to the masses. The essays of Boucher during the controversy on the Vestry Act were very able; and his calm tone of discussion, together with his fair consideration of both sides of the case, caused them to be regarded as just and forcible. But the spirit of the people, stirred with the sentiments of the coming Revolution, was not greatly influenced by them. Lawsuits abounded, and the claims of the clergy were often rejected by the courts. In 1773 the question on the Vestry Act was compromised. An act was passed fixing the poll-tax for the clergy at thirty pounds of tobacco, but with the express provision that the act should have no influence in deciding the validity of the law of 1702. Before any legal decision had been given the Revolution removed the question beyond the jurisdiction of the courts. That Revolution occupied all minds to the exclusion of church affairs. It left the church desolate when it was over. When it began there were forty-four parishes in Maryland, twenty on the eastern and twenty-four on the western shore. In every one was an incumbent. The livings in some instances were very valuable. Some few were worth a thousand pounds. Even after the "thirty per poll" tax had been substituted for the "forty per poll" there were but three livings under a hundred pounds' annual income, and the others usually ranged from this up to five hundred pounds.

the Revolution set in, about two thirds of the
ere royalists and one third stood for the patriots.
of cleavage did not run on the line of faithful and
ıl ministers. When Governor Eden was requested
which he did in 1776, the authorities of Maryland
ed a form of prayer for the new instead of the old
ıent, which a majority of the incumbents could not
tiously use. These must pay a treble tax or leave
ıtry. Most of them left, and a large number of
s were closed.

vas this opposition to the Revolution confined to
gy of the Establishment. The Quakers, being
ıbatants, left the province. The Methodists, being
sect of the Establishment, shared in the odium
ın it. Mr. Asbury, the chief representative of
ley, and a man of truly apostolic fervor and devo-
s apprehended and fined, and had to live two years

Declaration also affirmed that all persons professing the Christian religion were equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty. It had, however, prohibited all general assessments by vestries for the support of ministers, but reserved for the legislature the right to impose, at its discretion, "a common and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion in general," allowing each taxpayer to designate the denomination to whose support his contribution should be applied. In accordance with this provision a number of vestries in 1782 gave notice of their purpose to petition the legislature to make a general provision for the support of Christianity. The movement, however, was premature, and was not consummated. In the anomalous condition of the Episcopal Church, disestablished virtually, and without any governing power, even of the State, an attempt was actually made during the war, by the legislature, to organize it by appointing ordainers to the ministry. The movement was frustrated chiefly by Rev. Samuel Keene, who hastened to Annapolis, and by his exertions gave it its quietus.

We here end the account of the colonial church in Maryland, as its subsequent history forms part of the effort for its resuscitation as an independent American ecclesiastical organization.

CHAPTE

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN
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STRICTLY speaking, there is n
Church in New England before t
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ratists, and not merely nonconforming members of the Church of England, as were the Puritans who followed, they had from time to time individual churchmen resident among them. The Rev. John Lyford, a minister of the Establishment, came over in 1624, sent by merchants of the New England Company. He does not seem to have been a very stable, or at times a very reputable, character, and, as Bradford expresses it, "will goe minister the sacraments by his Episcopal calling."[1] There was no disposition to countenance a schism in the colony, and Lyford was banished. Nevertheless Plymouth Colony in general avoided harsh measures in dealing with theological malcontents, and even served as an asylum for persons whose tenets and practices made them uncomfortable in the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The rapid growth of this colony is shown in the fact that twenty years after the landing of the Pilgrims it contained eight towns and a population of twenty-five hundred; and thirty years after that, in 1671, there were fifty towns and eight thousand people; and in this large community there was no trace of Episcopal institutions or influence.

In 1622 Thomas Morton came over with thirty followers and established himself at Passonagesset, a hill in the present town of Quincy. He led the life of a burly English squire, sportsmanlike and free; erected May-poles and celebrated Christmas with feasting and jollity, and maintained the character of a stout churchman more addicted to the feasts than the fasts of the church. His mode of life was a social scandal, and was exceedingly obnoxious to the general sentiment of the early settlers. Plymouth suffered it, but not the colony of Massachusetts Bay, after they became established. Endicott of Salem caused

[1] Bradford, "Plymouth Plantation."

his May-pole to be cut down, and rebuked the revelers for their profaneness. There was no spirit of religious devotion in this little company, and that in itself was a sufficient stigma. Morton, indeed, read prayers before his household, and conducted services on Sunday as a lay reader; but as these acts of religious decorum were accompanied by a life of laxity and worldliness, in the eyes of these colonists they only added to his offenses; so that to use the Prayer-book and to be of a gay humor were the principal articles of his condemnation. He was arrested by Captain Miles Standish, and sent to winter on the Isle of Shoals. His own account of his neighbors is: "I found two sorts of people, the one Christians, the other infidels. These I found most full of humanity and more friendly than the others." He made his way to England, and wrote a little book styled "New English Canaan," which on his return did not smooth matters for him. He was doubtless severely treated by those to whom his manners were wholly repugnant. He was imprisoned for a year, fined a hundred pounds, and then set at liberty. His property having been destroyed, he wandered from the community, sought refuge in the royal province of Maine, and died two years after at Agamenticus. He left no good impression for the church.

In 1623 Rev. William Morell came over with Robert Gorges, son of Sir Fernando, but saw no opportunity to exercise his ministry. He returned to England within a year, and left no mark behind him. Rev. William Blaxton, graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1625 occupied the present site of Boston. He was then not thirty years old, and had probably come as an assistant to Morell, who was the ecclesiastical head of Robert Gorges's expedition in 1623. Besides Blaxton, Thomas Walford was settled at Charlestown and Samuel Maverick at East

Boston. Thus in 1629 the region of modern Boston had individual members of the Church of England present in its several parts. Maverick, indeed, was a strong churchman; but Blaxton does not seem to have been so strong, judging from his own expression when, on declining to become a member of the Puritan church, he said, "I have come from England because I did not like the lord bishops; but I cannot join with you because I would not be under the lord brethren." He welcomed Winthrop when he came over from Charlestown and settled on the present site of Boston, and he seems to have lived in very tolerable harmony with the authorities and people of the colony. As these grew more and more numerous the spirit of the recluse bade him to move away from them. His land and orchards were sold to the authorities for a hundred and fifty dollars; and he moved into Rhode Island, living, as was said of him, "near to Master Williams, but far from his opinions." His removal seems to have quickened his ecclesiastical zeal, for he is reported to have officiated not unfrequently in Providence.

In March, 1628, the council of New England made a grant of land to John Endicott and others. After crossing the ocean with a small company of about fifty or sixty persons, he took the place of Conant as head of the settlement at Naumkeag, which then received the name of Salem, as a memorial for the pacifying of the differences between Conant's people and the newcomers. Nothing was said in this grant on the subject of religious liberty, and the authorities were allowed to send home persons disaffected with their government. In the spring of 1629 Endicott's settlement was reinforced by over four hundred fresh emigrants, a part of whom settled at Charlestown. Here the first Congregational church was formed, after the Separatists' model. Among the newcomers, two brothers,

John and Samuel Brown, members of the council, did not approve this ecclesiastical action, and proposed to hold meetings by themselves, using the Book of Common Prayer. It was, however, not intended to establish a colony where divers forms of faith and modes of worship should subsist side by side. The founders had no idea of admitting the principle of toleration; and these two brothers were sent back to England, on the return of the vessels, the same year. "It may be," says Gardiner, "that the rulers of the little community were wise in their resolution. Their own religious liberty would have been in danger if a population had grown up around them ready to offer a helping hand to any repressive measures of the home government. . . . The intellectual perception of the value of toleration had not yet dawned upon the world. The problem, as it presented itself to the men of that generation, was not whether they were to tolerate others, but whether they were to give to others the opportunity of being intolerant to themselves. Each party looked upon the other as something to be repressed and extirpated. The Puritan demanded exact conformity with his doctrine; Laud demanded exact conformity with his practice. Each party regarded itself as standing on the defensive."[1]

It is clear that Episcopal churchmen could stand but a poor chance for the exercise of their religious convictions in communities constituted as were the early colonies in New England. Thus, when Thomas Lechford, a lawyer who supported the cause of Mr. Prynne against the bishops, came to reside in Boston between the years 1638 and 1641, he was distrusted by men of influence and authority because of his views in ecclesiastical matters. He maintained the divine right of Episcopacy in a manuscript treatise which Dudley, the deputy governor, declared erroneous

[1] Gardiner, "History of England," vol. vii., pp. 156, 158.

and dangerous, and suggested to Winthrop that "instead of putinge it to the presse, as hee desireth, it may rather be putt into the fire, as I desire." Lechford himself owned that he meddled too much with controversies concerning matters of church government and the like, and he found it expedient to return to England.

It was in 1622 that Gorges, in connection with John Mason, obtained a grant of territory between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers, extending to the river of Canada which they called Laconia. Settlements were made at Portsmouth and Dover; and Conant, Lyford, and Oldham, who had become discontented at Plymouth, joined them, and constituted here a church settlement. There was a clergyman of the church connected with these early settlements in New Hampshire, and a chapel and parsonage existed in Portsmouth in 1640. Mason, a devout and earnest churchman, had sent over communion-plate and service-books, but the parsonage house and chapel had been erected as a free gift by the inhabitants. Mr. Richard Gibson was the first parson in the parsonage. The settlements passed under the authority of Massachusetts in 1641. Mr. Gibson wrote an open letter, opposing the title of Massachusetts to these parts. He was brought to book for this conduct, and, acknowledging his fault, was discharged without fine or punishment, on condition of his departing from the country in a few days. He was a good scholar and highly esteemed as a gospel minister, and had probably come as early as 1636, at which time Sir Fernando Gorges, by authority of a royal grant, organized the first government within the limits of the present State of Maine. This grant provided for the establishment of the Church of England, and gave to the patentee the nomination of the ministers of all churches and chapels which might be built in the province. Gibson was succeeded by the

Rev. Robert Jordan, so far as the work in Maine was concerned.

The church interest in New Hampshire had now faded out; but Jordan labored earnestly and with success at Scarboro, at Casco (now Portland), and at Saco. Maine was considered distinctively Episcopalian, and was intended as a rival to her Puritan neighbors. In 1652 Massachusetts claimed Maine as within the scope of the great charter of the Bay Company. The claim was sustained, the religious liberty of the Episcopalians being left unharmed. The preponderant influence, however, was against them. Jordan married the only daughter of John Winter, and through her inheritance became one of the wealthiest men of the colony. He used his influence and station to resist the encroachments of Massachusetts. He lived in Falmouth thirty-one years, preaching and administering the sacraments according to the usage of the Church of England, except when silenced by the Puritan authorities of Massachusetts. He was at times imprisoned for baptizing children and using the marriage service. Exasperated at such treatment, and impatient of the Puritan rule, he became bitter in his speech against the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts Bay. This temper, together with his wealth, moderated his zeal in his profession, and he is said to have become greatly absorbed in secular affairs. After his house had been destroyed by the Indians he took refuge in Great Island (now New Castle), near Portsmouth, N. H. Here he died, in his sixty-eighth year, in 1679. After his death there is no record of any Episcopal clergyman in Maine until 1756, and with him ended for years the church's possession of the coasts of Maine and New Hampshire. At the time of Jordan's death he was the only Episcopal minister in all New England.

The whole subject of the treatment of other religious

bodies by the Puritans, especially of the members of the English Church, finds its explanation in the circumstances out of which their special movement arose. Before the Reformation the religious sympathies of men had been divorced, by reason of the corruption of those in authority, from that external organization which had been framed especially to foster them.[1] Outward institutions, which were intended to be signs and means of Christ's presence to the soul, were put in the place of Him; and the organization intended to quicken and direct men's souls was changed into a set of lifeless observances. When, through the influence of Wycliffe, men learned that they had souls for which they must themselves care, they began to feel the need of personal religion. At the outbreak of the Reformation this ferment for individual reformation spread through the nation. The need of support and sympathy, for which the church, as the communion of saints, provides, was forgotten in the first fever-heat which waited upon the discovery of individual responsibility and personal salvation. The party in the Reformed English Church who especially emphasized individual religion became known as Puritans. "The Puritan founders of Massachusetts had at home belonged to the Established Church. Their ministers were Episcopalians until the policy of Laud was brought to bear against them. They believed firmly in a union of church and state, and in the suppression of all schisms, provided theirs were the church, and that the suppression of schism were trusted to their hands."[2] They strove for their especial tenets with the earnestness of men who felt that they had a great reality at stake. The old feeling of hostility to Rome was awakened toward the

[1] See Wilberforce, "History of the American Church," chap. iii., pp. 45–50, from which the above is largely quoted.

[2] Douglas Campbell, "The Puritan in Holland, England, and America," vol. ii., p. 413.

Established Church. There was no idea or true comprehension of toleration in the mind of any party in the church. The Puritans were forced by Queen Elizabeth to be present at their parish church. The Parliament under Cromwell sentenced to one year's imprisonment any one who for the third time made use publicly or privately of the Book of Common Prayer.

In the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. the Puritans strove for mastery in vain. The law enforced conformity. Finding it impossible to follow out their convictions in their native land, they were content to forsake it rather than to violate what they deemed the dictates of conscience. Those who afterward became the Plymouth Colony first migrated to Holland; but for many reasons they determined to plant and maintain the purity of the faith in a settlement of their own on the newly discovered continent of America. When, afterward, the Puritan element who were not Separatists, but nonconforming members of the Church of England, came with Winthrop to found the colony of Massachusetts Bay, they said: "We esteem it an honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother, and cannot part from our native land, where she specially resides, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes. For, acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation we have received in her bosom and sucked it from her breasts, we leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there; but, blessing God for parentage and education as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus." They desired simply what they esteemed

a purer form of worship within the church, the abolition of what they regarded as superstitious usages, and the awakening of the clergy to a more earnest religious life and teaching. Their speedy lapse into a different form of church government and different methods of worship from the Established Church has led to the implication of insincerity in the foregoing expressions of attachment and loyalty to her. But it must in justice be remembered that to them the chief notes of the church were not the form of ecclesiastical organization nor the structure of the liturgy. They were the body of doctrine and the maintenance of the truth and life of the gospel. They emphasized the theological and religious elements, which in their eyes comprised the essence of its life, and claimed that the form of church government was a matter of indifference and could be lawfully regulated by the state. Therefore, according to their ideas, they were not departing from the essence of the church by departing from its outer forms of government and worship while they clung to the substance of its doctrine and the religious aim of its organization. When once they had begun their own ecclesiastical life and worship under simpler forms than those which were associated with the oppression which they had suffered, and to escape which they emigrated from the mother-country, they were firm in their determination to resist any encroachment on their rights, and to discourage the presence of those who might revive the old proscription. This is the explanation of their treatment of individuals which we have sketched; and this is also the reason why the life of the Episcopal Church did not really begin in New England until after the charter of the colony had been abrogated and Massachusetts became a royal province.

It was in May, 1686, that the frigate "Rose," bringing the king's commission appointing Joseph Dudley as pres-

ident of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the king's provinces, brought also the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, M.A., who had been appointed to inaugurate the services of the Episcopal Church in Boston. Immediately after his arrival he preached in the town house, and read Common Prayer in his surplice, attracting by the novelty a large audience. A month after his arrival, on the 15th of June, "the members of the Church of England, as by law established," assembled for organization. Provision was made for the minister's salary, which was fixed at fifty pounds per annum, and for the constant conduct of divine worship. The setting up of this church was considered a great affront by followers of the Standing Order. These resisted all attempts to appropriate one of the three Boston churches for the use of the Church of England, which found itself possessed of no exclusive rights and privileges here. A considerable number were, however, attached to it, and as many as four hundred were said to be daily frequenters of the church.

The advent of Sir Edmund Andros, December 20, 1686, as the first royal governor of the province, gave a somewhat different aspect to affairs. An application for the use of one of the meeting-houses for the church, at a time when it would not interfere with the rights of the original proprietors, was resisted by the ministers of the town, chief among whom were the Rev. Thomas Allen of the First Church, the Revs. Increase and Cotton Mather, father and son, of the Second Church, and the Rev. Samuel Willard of the South Meeting-house, all men of great distinction. However, on Good Friday, 1687, the governor had service performed in the South Meeting-house, and again on Easter Sunday, when the service, by reason of the sacrament and the long sermon, was protracted beyond the hour for the service of the proprietors of the house. Such

difficulties continued from time to time until the first King's Chapel was erected on the site which the present edifice now occupies. This church was begun in the latter part of 1688, and was erected by the gifts of a hundred subscribers. Before it could be occupied the news of the landing of William of Orange at Torbay arrived, about Easter, 1689. This was the occasion of a revolt against Andros. The royal authority was overthrown, and the church suffered with the crown. Ratcliffe, the rector, escaped imprisonment, though he was sent to England. He returned, however, and opened King's Chapel, for the first time, June 30, 1689, his successor, the Rev. Samuel Miles, being present with him.

In the midst of the excitement attending Andros's administration, Increase Mather published a pamphlet entitled "The Unlawfulness of Common Prayer Worship," in which he asserted that it was apostasy, in this age of light, to countenance or comply with the Common Prayer Book; and the Puritan preachers generally denounced the great sin of formalism in Christian worship. The church, however, was finished and furnished thoroughly. In 1696 the rector returned from England, bringing much communion-plate and other handsome furnishings for the church as a present from the king and queen. It was in 1698–99 that the Rev. Christopher Bridge became an assistant minister of the chapel. And thus the close of the seventeenth century found the church firmly established in New England's capital.

The beginning of the eighteenth century marks a new era in the history of the Episcopal Church throughout all the provinces; for it was now that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (which held its first meeting at Lambeth Palace on the 27th of June, 1701) began its exertions, so numerous, so generous, and so long continued, for the support and propagation of the

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George Keith, a Scotchman who had be
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The clergy of King's Chapel, the Rev. Messrs. Miles and Bridge, welcomed these three brethren heartily; and Keith, true to his old character, at once preached a sermon on the claims of the English Church, which involved him in a speedy controversy with Dr. Increase Mather. Gordon died soon after his arrival in Boston; and Keith and Talbot together began in July their missionary exploration, which occupied two years. They visited the coasts of New England, and the Puritan ministers gave countenance to their assaults upon Quakerism. In Rhode Island, where so many Quakers resided, they proclaimed with great vigor the faith of the Church of England. They were countenanced in Connecticut by Saltonstall and other distinguished Puritan ministers, who were equally opposed to Quakers with themselves. They traversed Long Island, visited New York, labored in New Jersey, especially at Burlington, at which place, as everywhere in New Jersey, they received marked attention from the leading officers of the crown. They visited Philadelphia, where they were heartily welcomed by late converts from Quakerism; and the clergy of New York assembled to meet them, and drew up an account of the state of the church in Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, and New York. Keith was also especially busy in Philadelphia and the towns of Pennsylvania, and also in Delaware; and he and Talbot were entertained by Colonel Nicholson, governor of Virginia, at Williamsburg. They penetrated into North Carolina, and afterward proceeded to Maryland, whence, after spending several weeks, they returned to Philadelphia. Many converts were made during these journeys. Talbot was appointed to the charge of the church in Burlington; and Keith, after revisiting Maryland and Virginia, returned to England. He published a "Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck." Talbot, writing from Philadel-

phia September 1, 1703, says: "We have gathered several hundreds together for the Church of England. Churches are going up amain where there were never any before. In all places where we arrive we find a great ripeness and inclination among all sorts of people to embrace the gospel." Their mission, by the spirit which it inspired, as well as by the converts which they made and the churches which they established, was the beginning of a new era in the history of the Episcopal Church in America. Still for long years it existed only in the form of isolated congregations; and deprived of the episcopate, the center of its organization and authority, it could only lead a maimed and disjointed life. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel did all that it could to maintain the separate congregations, both by sending out missionaries and by supporting the native ministry, which from time to time received orders from the hands of the Bishop of London. Far different was the quality of those whom they sent and supported from that of those who had come out more or less as clerical adventurers to the colonies of Maryland and Virginia, where the church was recognized by the government, and in a measure established. But no efforts of any society could supply the lack of a bishop's authority and oversight; and the history of the church until the time that an episcopate was received, after the Revolutionary War, is the history of an organization maimed and incomplete.

There was great activity, however, among its individual members, and there was much controversy between its advocates and those of the Standing Order, whom they antagonized. One of the most remarkable of these controversies occurred in Boston, shortly after the English Church had obtained its permanent footing there. John Checkley, who was born in Boston in 1680, was educated

in part abroad, and on returning to his native land became the most noted controversialist on the side of the church in his day. To his learning he added the endowments of wit and humor to a great degree. He began his controversial writings by a tract concerning election and predestination. But what called him into special prominence was the publication of an edition of Leslie's "Short Method with Deists," to which was added "A Discourse Concerning Episcopacy," also by Leslie, with certain comments by Checkley, applying the arguments especially to the case of the New England Independents. The reflections upon the orders of New England ministers and the validity of their sacraments were very distinct and very severe, and constituted the most pungent attack which had been made on the ecclesiastical authority of the Puritan colony. This publication produced a most profound sensation. It was universally discussed, and was proceeded against as a scandalous libel, "not only reflecting on the ministers of the gospel established in this province, and denouncing their sacred function and the holy ordinations of religion as administered by them, but also sundry vile insinuations against his Majesty's rightful and lawful authority and the constitution of the government of Great Britain." The judges, however, declared from the bench that Checkley was not to be tried for writing anything in defense of England and the Episcopacy; and the attorney-general was ordered to confine his attention to the clauses of the book supposed to reflect on the government.

Checkley was condemned; but on appeal he spoke in his own defense, in which he maintained, first, that no provincial assembly. could by right or in fact establish either the Presbyterian or Congregational systems so as to constitute the Episcopal churches dissenters; second, that,

by the just and true construction of the laws of that very province, the Church of England was established there; and third, that, by the laws of England, the Church of England was established in New England, and no other was positively established in all his Majesty's plantations. The previous excitement was immensely intensified by a speech unlike any ever previously made to a New England audience. The jury ordered the conditional verdict that, "if this book be a false and scandalous libel, then we find the said Checkley guilty of all and every part of the indictment (excepting the political part of it); but if the said book containing the 'Discourse Concerning Episcopacy' be not a false and scandalous libel, then we find him not guilty." The justices did not share the doubts of the jury, and condemned Checkley as guilty of publishing and selling a false and scandalous libel, and sentenced him to pay the sum of a hundred pounds. Checkley was by no means silenced by this finding. He at once published two pamphlets, one called "A Modest Proof of the Order and Government Settled by Christ and His Apostles in the Church"; the other, an octavo of sixteen pages, entitled "A Discourse Showing who is a True Pastor of the Church of Christ."[1]

Even the assistant rector of King's Chapel, Rev. Henry Harris, was angry at Checkley's mode of disputation, and sought to prejudice the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) against him, and doubtless deferred his taking orders. These pub-

[1] As an illustration of Checkley's trenchant humor, we may instance the following: "A Specimen of a True Dissenting Catechism," appended to the "Discourse," and also to a second edition of the "Speech."

"*Question.* What don't the dissenters in their public worship make use of the creeds?

"*Answer.* Why? Because they are not set down word for word in the Bible.

"*Question.* Well, but why don't the dissenters in their public worship make use of the Lord's Prayer?

"*Answer.* Oh, because that *is* set down word for word in the Bible."

lications gave rise to many answering pamphlets by the Congregational clergy. Foxcroft, minister of the First Church; Wigglesworth, a Cambridge divinity professor; Dickinson, afterward first president of the College of New Jersey; Prince, a fellow of Harvard; and Walter, a personal friend of Checkley, all published defenses of their ecclesiastical position. Checkley replied with vigor, and became the most conspicuous churchman in New England of his kind. He applied a second time, in 1728, for orders in England, but was again repulsed; at last, in 1739, on a third visit abroad, he was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter, at the age of fifty-nine. He was appointed to St. John's Mission, Providence, where he labored for fourteen years for the negroes and Indians, as well as for his immediate charge. Here he died at the age of seventy-four, and is buried beneath the present edifice, which has replaced his humble chapel, though his grave is unmarked.

In the midst of this controversy the Episcopal Church continued to increase in Boston. On the 15th of April, 1723, the corner-stone of Christ Church was laid, and on the 29th of December, the same year, it was opened for worship. It still stands, the oldest house of worship, and next to the oldest public building, in the city. It is a fine old edifice, near to the historic cemetery of Copps Hill, at the North End, now a mere missionary district, but for many years the court end of the town. The brick walls of the church are two feet and a half thick; its spire is a hundred and seventy-five feet high; and from its steeple the lanterns were displayed which guided Paul Revere in his ride, on the night of the 18th of April, 1775, from Boston to Concord. Its first rector was Dr. Timothy Cutler, who had been converted to Episcopacy while rector of Yale College, and who, resigning his position there, went to England, and was ordained in London, March,

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Dr. Cutler also founded the
care of Christ Church, Braintree,
in places where there was no Ep
an indefatigable worker and a s
church of his adoption. He p
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of the Church of England. He
Dr. Mather Byles, Jr., who had
tional minister in Connecticut, l
church sent him to England for o
and entered on his duties the
found a hundred

the church steeple, announced the beginning of the Revolution.

In the meantime, in 1735, Trinity Church, much larger than Christ Church, had been built in Boston. This church did not receive aid from the Venerable Society (S. P. G.). The proprietors of the pews were patrons and owners of the living, and elected their clergymen and presented them to the Bishop of London for their ordination. The church has been associated with many of the most distinguished names in Boston. The Rev. Roger Price, rector of King's Chapel and commissary of the Bishop of London, laid the corner-stone, and held the first services in the completed structure August 15, 1735, Governor Belcher being present. Mr. Price here established the fund for the Price Lectures, which have been held annually ever since. Rev. Addington Davenport was the first rector, and was inducted into the rectorship in 1740. Peter Faneuil gave a hundred pounds to the church toward the purchase of an organ; and Governor Shirley presented the communion-plate, prayer-books, and other articles. In 1763 the heirs of Mr. Thomas Greene established the Greene Foundation, giving five hundred pounds sterling for the purpose of securing the services of an assistant minister; and other individuals in the parish contributed a like sum. On this foundation many of the distinguished clergymen associated with the parish have been settled as assistants. Among them we may mention Dr. Parker, who afterward became bishop of the diocese; Dr. Gardiner, who afterward became rector, a man of great and general literary attainments; Rev. George Washington Doane, afterward Bishop of New Jersey; Rev. John Henry Hopkins, first Bishop of Vermont; Dr. Jonathan M. Wainwright, who became Provisional Bishop of New York; Rev. Manton Eastburn, who, on being elected Bishop of Massachusetts, became the

rector of Trinity parish; Rev. Henry C. Potter, the present Bishop of New York; and Rev. Phillips Brooks, who, after a rectorship of twenty years, was elected bishop of the diocese. During the War of the Revolution services were held in Trinity Church, it being voted by the vestry that "Mr. Parker, the present minister, be desired to continue officiating in the said church, and that he be requested to omit that part of the liturgy of the church that relates to the king." After the war and the secession of King's Chapel, Trinity became the principal church in the city. Thus at the beginning of the Revolution there were three Episcopal churches in Boston.

Christ Church, Cambridge, was established in 1759, though the church was not opened until October, 1761. Its position was of importance for the church, being in the immediate neighborhood of Harvard College. It was a stately building for the time, though not large, and was erected by Peter Harrison, the architect of the Redwood Library, Newport, of King's Chapel, Boston, and of Christ Church. Mr. Apthorp was the rector, a man of distinguished abilities, extensive learning, and fine character. He defended in print the proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in founding these missionary churches, which met with a sharp reply from the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., pastor of the West Church, Boston. To this the Archbishop of Canterbury published a reply in 1764, which Dr. Mayhew answered, and to this Mr. Apthorp replied after he had withdrawn to England in 1765. This controversy is specially mentioned because it probably furnished the reason for Mr. Apthorp's remaining in England. He was suspected and accused of being desirous of being made bishop; and the handsome house which he had erected in Cambridge was said, in the derisive sarcasm of the day, to have been designed for the

"palace of one of the humble successors of the apostles." Though Mr. Apthorp remained in Europe, the church was supplied with services by the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) until the breaking out of the War of the Revolution, when it was occupied, as were also the college buildings and many of the principal residences of Cambridge, as barracks for the troops. On Mrs. Washington's arrival in Cambridge, however, in December, 1775, a service, at her request, was held in the church on the last day of the year. From that time on, for fifteen years, the building remained neglected, deserted, and dilapidated. It was not opened again for worship until 1790. It was repaired and placed in its present condition in the year 1825. In the long course of its history it has had as rectors, assistants, or lay readers many who have become prominent in the history of the church. Among those who have been connected with it who have become bishops we may note specially Dehon of South Carolina, Wainwright of New York, Vail of Kansas, Howe of central Pennsylvania, Williams of Connecticut, and Southgate, missionary bishop to Turkey. Everywhere save in Boston the church languished during the war, and at the close of the Revolution there were but four Episcopal ministers in Massachusetts and only six in all New England.

Rhode Island.

The Episcopal Church was established first in Rhode Island at Newport, in 1698. It was through the instrumentality of Sir Francis Nicholson, who had been lieutenant-governor of New York under Sir Edmund Andros, afterward governor of Virginia, and who was at that time governor of Maryland. In 1702 Trinity Church was begun there, and the church edifice erected. The Earl of

...ations, and under his ministry
in 1726 a more spacious buildin
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ago. Mr. Honeyman proved a
fatigable rector. He was kind-h
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charity."

As early as the year 1713 the
Trinity Church petitioned the quee
of bishops in America, "setting f
that would result to the church f
It was during the rectorship of Mr
Berkeley visited Rhode Island, in
more than two years in the neig
The announcement of his arrival wa
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dismissed the congregation with the
all repaired to the wharf to rece
friends. Of this visit of Dean Ber
its consequences, further referen-
It may [illegible]

in 1731, he sent as a gift to the church the organ which is still to be seen there, with its gilded crown flanked by two miters. One of his children is buried in the churchyard. Mr. Honeyman continued in office for nearly fifty years, dying of extreme old age in 1750. The Venerable Society (S. P. G.) continued its support without abatement until 1752, when a reduction of twenty pounds was made in the stipend. Newport at this time was one of the richest and most flourishing towns on the seacoast, and the reduction was justifiable. It was not until a year or two before the Revolution that the society withdrew its support altogether.

On the opposite side of the bay, on the Narragansett shore, many respectable and wealthy families had taken up their abode as early as 1670, and in 1707 what is now known as St. Paul's Church, Kingston, but which was long known as the Narragansett Church, was erected. It is supposed to be the oldest Episcopal church still standing in the northern part of the United States. It was removed five miles south, to its present position, in the year 1800. Occasional services are held in the old building still. It is carefully protected from decay; and no changes have been made in it, except that the chancel, formerly on the east side, has been removed to the north. The original burying-ground on the old site of the church is still preserved, and in it are buried several distinguished clergymen who officiated from time to time. Among them were Dr. McSparran, who became rector in 1721, and was the most conspicuous clergyman sent to Rhode Island by the society in England, and who was the author of a work on the colonies entitled "America Dissected"; also the Rev. Mr. Fayerweather, a graduate of Harvard, who succeeded Dr. McSparran in the rectorship; and the Rev. William Smith, who composed the office for the "Institution of

Ministers into Parishes or Churches" contained in the Book of Common Prayer. He did more than any one else to introduce chanting into the services of the church. A massive granite cross has been placed on the spot once occupied by the chancel of the church, in memory of Dr. McSparran.

In the days of Dr. McSparran, Narragansett County was noted for its extensive plantations, its retinues of slaves, and its profuse hospitality. It was more like a Southern than a Northern settlement in these respects. The relative strength of the Episcopal Church in these regions, and its general prosperity, compared, on the whole, favorably with other parts of the country; for although it received no aid from the local government, as it did in Virginia and Maryland, it was not called to encounter the legalized opposition with which it was assailed in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The principle of religious liberty, upon the basis of which the State was founded, and which was never violated, left the field open for all Christian denominations to contend on a fair and equal footing.

The society of the day was refined and well informed. Tutors were imported, and employed in the home for the instruction of the children, who were afterward placed in the families of learned clergymen. Dr. McSparran received young gentlemen into his home for instruction. President Clapp, of Yale College, completed his education under him. Dr. Checkley, whom we have previously mentioned in connection with the church in Boston, educated several sons of the Narragansett families. Among these were many whose names are still remembered in Rhode Island, such as the Gardiners, Phillipses, Balfours, Babcocks, Updikes, Hazards, Browns, Brentons, and others. These came together at church on a Sunday morning,

arrayed in the brilliant costumes of their times, and much state and ceremony was observed in the seating of the congregation and in the conduct of the worship.

There were no carriages of any consequence owned in Narragansett. The narrow roads were little fitted for their use; so that almost everybody came to church on horseback, the ladies riding on pillions behind the gentlemen. The choir sang one of the metrical psalms of Tate and Brady, chanting being as yet unknown, and somewhat dreaded, as having a flavor of popery. The minister, ascending the high pulpit, preached in a black gown and bands, wearing silk gloves. The congregation presented a great contrast in its attire to the drab and brown so prevalent in the assemblies of the Quakers, who were the prevailing sect in the colony. Gay cavaliers in scarlet coats would be seated by richly dressed ladies such as we see portrayed on the canvases of Smibert and Copley. The negro servants would be massed in the galleries, and the whole appearance of things was that of an aristocratic community. This state of society, indeed, supported by slavery, produced a habit of festivity and even of dissipation, the natural result of wealth and leisure. At various periods of the year festivities would be held which would sometimes continue for days. At Christmas twelve days were devoted to festive associations. Every gentleman of the State had his circle of connections, friends, and acquaintances, and they were invited from one plantation to another. Servants attended them to open the gates; and the whole community seemed to be given up to social enjoyment. A wedding was a great gala time. At one given about the year 1790 by Nicholas Gardiner there were six hundred guests in attendance. Great sociability was the characteristic feature of the time; but political acrimony and discord engendered by the Revolution

broke up this state of society, which was never restored. Dr. McSparran was rector of the Narragansett Church for thirty-seven years, and left a great impress upon the community, of which he was a very conspicuous figure.

In Bristol, which until 1746 was included within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, St. Michael's Church was organized in 1719, the Rev. Mr. Oremus being sent over from England by the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) as the rector. He remained only a year, when he removed to New York, and the Rev. John Usher was appointed to his place. "Mr. Usher was a man of most earnest piety, and thoroughly devoted to his work. His labors were signally blessed, and his hallowed influence and honored name have been perpetuated in Bristol to the present day. He made the welfare of the church the whole business of his existence, and was called to suffer deprivations and hardships such as few of the clergy are called to endure at the present day." Seven hundred and thirteen persons were baptized under his ministry; and his parishioners raised from eighty to a hundred and thirty pounds annually for the expenses of their church, though, being in Massachusetts, they were also taxed for the support of the Congregational minister. It is a singular circumstance in the life of Mr. Usher that, as the record says, the vestry voted, in 1730, "that henceforth the rector shall be called on to support all the widows of the church." The church, though the building was burned to ashes by a band of British soldiers during the Revolution, never ceased its corporate existence, and from the beginning has always been a powerful religious influence in the life of Rhode Island. Bishop Griswold was afterward its rector, and by his godly life and conversation continued the traditions of faithful and devoted service which Mr. Usher had begun.

It was in 1722 that the first Episcopal church, then

known as King's Chapel, but after 1794 as St. John's Church, was erected in Providence. At that time Providence contained about four thousand persons, among whom was a little band of church people, who, as the record reads, "having resolved to get a minister, and live like Christians, erected their house of worship with some aid from Newport and Boston." The congregation consisted of about a hundred persons, of whom seventeen were communicants. Their first rector, the Rev. George Pigot, remained with them but three years. He was a man of fair scholarship and good character, but was said to have been "of a roving disposition." Their second minister was a disgraceful character, so rare in the records of the New England church clergy, as we gather from the statement that "'tis observable that the last Lord's Day he preached in the church he was, by an extraordinary gust of wind, forced out of the church in the time of service. The next Lord's Day, the people refused his preaching. Afterward he was committed to gaol for his breaking open the door of the church, which his people had fastened up after they had hall[d] him out of the pulpit on the 9th instant for his irregularities." The Rev. John Checkley, having at last obtained orders, as we have previously seen, became rector in 1739. He was a good scholar, a man devoted to missionary work among the Indians, and, as is recorded, "a favorite companion of learned and curious men, though some were offended by his opinions, and others thought him too much of a wag for an intimate acquaintance." The Rev. John Graves, who succeeded him, an excellent man, and highly commended by the Venerable Society (S. P. G.), which supported him, continued to officiate until July, 1776, "when he was pleased to absent himself from duty, though very earnestly requested to keep up the worship, saying he

could not, as prayers for King George were forbidden." His request to be reinstated at the end of the war was refused.

In connection with the founding of King's or St. John's Church there are several laymen who deserve grateful recognition, among them Nathaniel Brown, the donor of the land on which the church was built, given, in the language of the deed, "for the glory and honor of God, and Promoting the Society and Communion of the Church of England in these foreign partes of the world, as the same is by law established." He was one of the persons imprisoned in Bristol, in 1724, "for refusing to pay toward the support of the teacher in that town, namely, Mr. Greenwood, whom they refused to support, supposing it criminal to contribute toward supporting schism and a causeless separation from the Church of England." Joseph Whipple was another generous friend, one of the first wardens of the church, and the chief contributor toward the cost of its erection. The name, also, of Gabriel Bernon should be had in special remembrance. A tablet to his memory has been placed upon the walls of the present church, in which it is recorded that "to the persevering piety and untiring zeal of Gabriel Bernon, the first three Episcopal churches in Rhode Island owed their origin." He was a merchant of Rochelle, France, and a Huguenot who had been imprisoned two years in his native land for his zeal in the Protestant cause, previous to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He came to America soon after the year 1687, and was the first signer of the petition for Trinity Church, Newport, twenty-five years before the establishment of the church in Providence. In 1721 he entered into correspondence with the Rev. Mr. McSparran, of the Narragansett Church, in reference to the establishment of Episcopal services in Providence, and in 1724

addressed a letter to the secretary of the Venerable Society (S. P. G.), in which he says: "We have built a church which we have named King's Church, where we intend to obey, serve, and adore God according to the Protestant religion and the Reformation by Edward VI., Cranmer, and the blessed Queen Elizabeth. So we want the whole and entire ministry of a minister, and he shall have employment enough to accomplish his mission." He was a man of the highest character, whose demeanor was marked by the courtesy indicative of his French lineage, and a layman to whom the Episcopal Church in Rhode Island is, perhaps, more indebted than to any other individual. It is recorded of him, "He died in great faith and hope in his Redeemer, and assurance of salvation, and has left a good name among his acquaintances." He died in 1736, and lies buried beneath St. John's Church.

The four churches we have mentioned are the only ones which have survived of those established during the eighteenth century in Rhode Island. They were all supported, to a great extent, by the Venerable Society (S. P. G.), who gave to each of them from sixty to seventy pounds a year. It is computed that to the churches in Rhode Island this society contributed altogether not less than a hundred thousand dollars. The characteristic of the church in Rhode Island during the period previous to the Revolution was that orderly and seemly worship which distinguished it from the more emotional enthusiasm of the Baptists, as well as from the utter absence of form prevalent among the Quakers, by which two bodies it was surrounded. It was not marked by religious enthusiasm, but "it stood sentinel over the proprieties and amenities and moralities of life, and taught the current virtues of good citizenship—honesty, sobriety, thrift, economy, and industry. It helped to make children obedient, and par-

ents considerate and kind, and servants truthful and faithful. If it did not apprehend the breadth of Christ's purpose in establishing his kingdom on earth; if the church was regarded rather as an organic structure than as a living power, still it was true to her ministry and order, and ordinances and services; and those services edified and comforted the listeners, regulated and elevated the flow of common life; and the Sundays and holy days made men understand and feel that there is something higher to live for than the greed of gain, or the follies of fashion, or the appetites of the body, or the rewards of ambition. If Christ was not preached in all his fullness, and the power of the cross brought home with earnestness and vigor to the souls of sinners, and believers led along the heights of grace in the pulpit, still the way of salvation was indicated; and many with the liturgy in their hands, pervaded through and through with the truth and spirit of Christ, found peace in believing."[1] It was a period when the standard of religious fervor was generally low, and the number of those who were distinguished for theological learning and effective preaching was comparatively small; but the churches thus maintained became the seed of an after-growth of a far higher and more vital type of Christianity.

New Hampshire.

Ninety years after the suppression of the Episcopal Church in Portsmouth by the Puritans, the church was again introduced in 1732. Many men of character and substance attached to the forms of the Church of England had by this time become residents of Portsmouth and its

[1] Historical discourse by Bishop Clark at the opening of the one-hundredth session of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Rhode Island, June, 1890.

vicinity. They now erected a church, assisted by friends in London; and the queen presented to it several folio prayer-books and a service of plate for the altar, engraved with the royal arms. In token of gratitude for these favors the edifice was called Queen's Chapel, and was opened for divine service in 1734. Mr. Brown, from Providence, took charge of the chapel in 1736; and the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) allowed him sixty pounds a year as missionary at Portsmouth, and fifteen pounds on account of his ministrations at Kittery. At that time Mr. Brown writes to the society that "the town and district of Portsmouth contain between six hundred and seven hundred families, whereof fifty or sixty are of the Church of England, and all the rest Independent, there being neither Quakers, Baptists, Papists, Heathen, nor Infidels. He read prayers every morning, at seven o'clock, from May to September, and preached a weekly lecture to strengthen his flock against the pernicious doctrine of enthusiasts, besides discharging his constant duty on Sundays." In the "Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society [S. P. G.]" it is stated that "the contagion of enthusiasm has spread itself into the government of New Hampshire; but by letters from thence we are informed that the little flock of our fold there hath almost entirely escaped the infection"; and in 1746, "that the tempest of enthusiasm being blown over, great numbers of well-meaning persons who had been affected with it, upon their return to sober thinking, repaired to our communion as the best refuge from those wild principles and practices which had raised such great confusion among them, and that the Church gained ground and reputation throughout these very populous colonies." Mr. Brown ministered not only in Portsmouth; he also made missionary excursions into the neighborhood all about, and gathered many for the church. He employed first

... Christ Church
loyalist, Dr. Byles retreated to Halifax
not until after the war that the church
began to revive. In 1791 what had bee
Chapel was incorporated under the
Church, Portsmouth. The course of
during a hundred and twenty years was
one. During the days of the colonial go
age number of families was about fifty.
the other Episcopal churches it suffered
the war; but when hostilities ceased th
accession of numbers to it. It more tha
the growth of the place. Rev. Dr. Burro
rector in 1812, was more than usually effi
and his ministry, with that of Rev. Mr.
through eighty-four years.

Besides St. John's Church, Portsmouth,
Hampshire, before the Revolution, only o
that of Claremont. Although quite a la
the first settlers were attached to the Ch
and although during the colonial times i
favors from those who were in places of
the Wentworths, its progress was inconsid
prejudice and interest retarded its growt
kinds of religious belief and of no parti
united in opposition to it. [illegible]

twenty acres each, one share was reserved for a glebe for the Church of England, as by law established; one for the Venerable Society (S. P. G.); and one for the first settled minister. The town was not settled, however, until 1767, when it was occupied by emigrants from Farrington, Conn. They were anxious to have the services of the church, but were unable to obtain a minister. They engaged Mr. Samuel Cole, who had graduated from Yale College in 1731, and had already made some progress in the studies preparatory to taking orders, to act as lay reader, catechist, and schoolmaster. He was a true and faithful man, who did his work well, though it was an humble one. The town was a hundred and forty miles from Portsmouth, and consequently could have no clerical assistance from that parish.

The Rev. Samuel Peters, of Hebron, Conn., was the first Episcopal minister known to have officiated in Claremont. He made a tour as a missionary through the towns along the Connecticut River, in New Hampshire and Vermont, in 1770. He is said to have organized the church in Claremont in 1771, and it was ministered to by the itinerant missionaries of the S. P. G. for New Hampshire; by the Rev. Mr. Badger until he resigned this office in 1774. His successor, Mr. Cossit, fixed his residence in Claremont, and henceforth ministered to the congregation while continuing his missionary labors. The first church was erected in 1773, and during the war the congregation led a most uncomfortable existence. Mr. Cossit was confined to the town as a prisoner after April, 1775; but he writes to the S. P. G.: "I have constantly kept up public services, without any omissions for the King and royal family, and likewise made use of the prayers for the High Court of Parliament and the prayers used in the time of war and tumults. The number of my parishioners and communicants in Clare-

mont are increased, but I have been cruelly distressed with fines for refusing entirely to fight against the King. In sundry places where I used to officiate, the church are all dwindled away. Some have fled to the King's army for protection, some are banished, and many are dead." [1]

Until after the Revolution Vermont formed part of New Hampshire, and has no separate church history.

Maine.

From the death of Jordan, which we have recorded, until 1756, there was no Episcopal clergyman in Maine; but at Pemaquid, between 1725 and 1730, there was a person appointed by the commissioners to read prayers and the holy Scriptures, and a small brick chapel was built at Prospect. A number of patriotic Germans having reached Boston in 1751, fifty families settled at Frankfort, within the Kennebec Purchase, the Plymouth Company offering them liberal terms. In 1754 the people of Frankfort and Georgetown applied to the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) for a missionary. On March 31, 1755, Rev. William Macclenaghan was appointed a missionary; but he did not reach the mission till May, 1756. He was reported diligent in his work; but having no church or glebe or house, he lived in the old fort at Fort Richmond, and he soon became weary of duties which were very laborious. He left the mission in December, 1758, and appeared in Virginia, Philadelphia, and New Jersey, always a troublesome element. Neither the place of his birth nor of his death is known.

On a renewed petition, in 1759, the society appointed Mr. Bailey, a graduate of Harvard, and who was recommended by ministers in Boston. He proceeded to Eng-

[1] "The History of the Eastern Diocese," vol. i., p. 194.

land for holy orders. He reached his post June, 1760, and wrote to the society soon afterward that he found in the county of Lincoln fifteen hundred families scattered over a region of a hundred by sixty miles, with no teacher of any denomination, except a number of illiterate exhorters who rambled about the country. Among the people was a mixture of several languages and religions; but they were pretty constant in attending public worship. Traveling was difficult. He found the work sufficiently large and growing to write for additional missionaries. In 1768 Rev. Mr. Wheeler, who had gone out to England for orders, was appointed, who, after a voyage of ten weeks, reached Boston, and at once went to Georgetown, and was well received. In October, 1769, Mr. Wheeler writes the society: "There are about two hundred families, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists. Preached three Sundays, and erected a church on the west bank of the Kennebec, three miles below Bath." The church, perhaps, was never finished. A church, however, was built in Pownal by Mr. Bailey during 1770, which measured sixty by thirty-two feet, and seated a congregation of from fifty to a hundred and thirty. In 1772 Mr. Wheeler went to Newport, R. I., and Mr. Bailey again took charge.

The infant settlements extended from Pownalsborough forty-five miles along the river; and four hundred families were settled there, with no minister of any denomination. They were greatly indebted to Dr. Gardiner, of Boston, a physician, who built churches and gave glebes and money. Mr. Bailey went in a sleigh the whole length of the Kennebec River to Fort Halifax, in the present town of Winslow. During 1774 he says: "The parishioners here do not join in insurrections; but nothing can be more dismal than the situation of the Episcopal ministers who have any dependence in Great Britain. They are insulted and

ned, and can scarce procure the necessaries of life.
sbyterian neighbors were so zealous for the good
country that they killed seven of my sheep ou
ve, and shot a fine heifer as she was feeding in m
." Thus he writes amid his tribulations, whic
ot wholly inexcusable, seeing that he was a fir
nid a patriotic community stirred to war and striv
independence. He stoutly refused to cease praying
king, declaring, "If all my brethren had departed
eir integrity, I could never think myself excused
ame by following their example." Yet he naïvely
Perhaps my fortitude at another time might have
He, however, received aid from Boston in his dis-
it was at last prohibited by the sheriff of the county
ficiating; and in 1779 he left for Nova Scotia, after
n Frankfort for nineteen years, and his church and
ge fell into decay. He died after forty-eight years

to have started anew the interest of church people; and at last, in 1763, they took action toward building a new house of worship, subscriptions for which ran as high as forty pounds and as low as one pound tenpence. At a meeting of the signers two of them quarreled and fought; and it is recorded, "A foundation for the Church was thus laid, the pillars tremble." However, the Rev. Mr. Wiswall was called from the Congregationalists and sent to England for orders, whence he returned in 1765 with additional promise of support from the S. P. G. The new church, unfinished, was occupied. In 1772 the tax for the support of the Congregational church was remitted. Troubles were rife during the excitement of the war; and Wiswall, obliged to flee, went to Boston, and served as deputy chaplain to two regiments. During the war there were no services in Falmouth. In 1783 a meeting in the interests of the church was held at Mr. Thomas Motley's; and services were conducted by lay readers until 1787, when a new church was built. In 1791 an Episcopal church named St. Paul's was formed in the town of Portland, of which Rev. Joseph Warren, of Gardiner, became minister in 1796.

In 1771 Dr. Gardiner began a church at Gardinerstown, the building of which was interrupted by the war; but it was finished in 1793. It contained three classes of pews. The first class was taxed fourpence a Sunday; the second class, threepence; and the third class, twopence. Dr. Gardiner left to the church a legacy of twenty pounds per annum, ten acres, a parsonage house, and a library. This church, called Christ Church, at Gardiner, and St. Paul's at Portland, were the only two Episcopal churches in Maine when Bishop Griswold became Bishop of the Eastern Diocese in 1811, and there was no minister in either of them at that time.

CHAPTER V.

E COLONIAL CHURCH IN CONNECTICUT.

hurch in Connecticut was virtually founded and during the colonial period by the Venerable or the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign n the earliest history of the State, when there jurisdictions, with separate governors and coun- of John Winthrop, who came in 1635, and made nt at Windsor; and that of John Davenport and ates, who gathered the settlements of the colony

cut, in 1665, they carried back a report that "the colony will not hinder any from enjoying the sacraments, and using the Common Prayer-Book, provided they hinder not the maintenance of the public minister." This was, however, not a legal provision, and it was not until 1708 that any public worship except that of the religion established by the colonial government became lawful. Even then, those who dissented from the Standing Order were not exempt from taxation for its maintenance. They might worship in their own way, but they must pay to support the way of the colony.

The first movement toward the establishment of an Episcopal church in Connecticut was that of a considerable number of freeholders, inhabitants of the town of Stratford, in Fairfield County, professors of the faith of the Church of England. Nothing, however, seems to have been accomplished before the visit of Keith and Talbot, sent out, as we have seen, by the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) to make a survey of the religious condition of the colonies. The only town which they visited in Connecticut was New London, where they preached in the Congregational church by the invitation of the minister, Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall, who afterward became governor of the colony. Keith reported to the society that Connecticut contained thirty thousand souls and about thirty-three towns, all dissenters, supplied with ministers and a school of their own persuasion.

The real introduction of Episcopacy into Connecticut came by way of New York, and chiefly through the instrumentality of the Hon. Caleb Heathcote, a man of high position in the New York government. The application which had been made in 1702 to the Bishop of London for a missionary at Stratford had not succeeded. Some Connecticut people living near Rye, within the borders

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Stratford was organized by Mr. Muirso
died in 1708, and the parish, with abou
cants, was left to the occasional servic
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sionary sent by the S. P. G. arrived
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made for the building of a church. At th
George Pigot was sent by the S. P. G. as
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into a building. Mr. Pigot remained o
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he became the first minister of King's, after
Church. In the meantime, Mr. Reed, the
minister, who had shown a friendly dis
Episcopalians, lost his parish by reason
ness, and was replaced by Mr. Timothy C
removed to the rectorship of Yale College,
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Yale College had been moved in 1716 to New Haven from Saybrook, where it had been founded in the first year of the century (1701) as the chief educational institution of Connecticut. It was greatly favored by the more conservative element in Massachusetts, though some opposition had been raised by the officers and fellows of Harvard College, who thought that one collegiate institution was enough for the wants of New England. Some, however, as the Mathers, thought that they discerned a too liberal tendency of things at Harvard; and Yale was founded in a conservative interest. It was at first a school rather than a college; but after its removal to New Haven it assumed a position of greater importance. After some trouble in the administration, the Rev. Timothy Cutler, then minister of the Congregational church at Stratford, was called to the rectorship of the college, at first temporarily, and afterward, on account of his excellent administration, permanently. Daniel Brown was appointed as his assistant. These were the only two instructors in the institution, and the number of students was not more than thirty-five. There were some among them, however, who afterward became eminent, the most distinguished of whom was Jonathan Edwards, of whom Sir John Mackintosh afterward spoke as "the Dante and Aquinas of New England," who was then a member of the junior class.

Mr. Cutler was a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1701, and was thirty-five years of age, having been settled nine years in Stratford, Conn. He may have owed his appointment in some measure to the fact that he was the son-in-law of the Rev. Mr. Andrews, who had discharged the duties of the rector's office in 1707, and also brother-in-law of Jonathan Law, of Milford, an influential member of the council at that time. But the real reason of his

appointment was his distinguished scholarship and his admirable character. President Stiles, in his diary, declares that he was an "excellent linguist, a great Hebrician and Orientalist; he had more knowledge of the Arabic than probably any man ever in New England before him, except President Chauncey and his disciple, the first Mr. Thatcher. Dr. Cutler was a logician, geographer, and rhetorician; in the philosophy, metaphysics, and ethics of his day, or juvenile education, he was great. He spoke Latin with fluency and dignity, and with great propriety of pronunciation. He was a noble Latin orator. He was of a commanding presence and dignity in government. He was a man of extensive reading in academic sciences, divinity, and ecclesiastical history. He was of a high, lofty, and despotic mien. He made a grand figure as the head of a college." The Rev. John Eliot, who was born in Boston in 1754, says in his "Biographical Dictionary": "He could never win the rising generation, because he found it so difficult to be condescending; but his extensive learning excited esteem and respect where there was nothing to move or hold the affections of the heart." This, however, seems to be too sweeping a criticism, if judged by the expressions of Jonathan Edwards in a letter to his father while he was a student at Yale, wherein he says: "Mr. Cutler is extraordinarily courteous to us, has a very good spirit of government, keeps the school in excellent order, seems to increase in learning, is loved and respected by all who are under him; and when he is spoken of in school or town he generally has the title of president."

The astonishment and consternation of the community may be imagined when, on September 13, 1722, the day after the annual commencement, the following paper was presented to the trustees of Yale College, assembled in the library at New Haven:

"*To the Reverend Mr. Andrews and Woodbridge, and others our Reverend fathers and brethren present in the library of Yale College this 13th of September*, 1722.

"REVEREND GENTLEMEN: Having represented to you the difficulties which we labor under in relation to our continuance out of the visible communion of an Episcopal Church, and a state of seeming opposition thereto, either as private Christians or as officers, and so being insisted on by some of you (after our repeated declinations of it) that we should sum up our case in writing, we do (though with great reluctance, fearing the consequences of it) submit to and comply with it: And signify to you that some of us doubt the validity, and the rest of us are more fully persuaded of the invalidity, of Presbyterian ordination in opposition to Episcopal, and should be heartily thankful to God and man if we may receive from them satisfaction therein; and shall be willing to embrace your good counsels and instructions in relation to this important affair as far as God shall direct and dispose us to do.

"TIMOTHY CUTLER,
"JOHN HART,
"SAMUEL WHITTLESEY
"JARED ELIOT,
"JAMES WETMORE,
"SAMUEL JOHNSON,
"DANIEL BROWN."

These signatures included not only the whole teaching staff of the college, but also the names of five eminent and respected Congregational ministers of the neighborhood. At that date the Church of England had few avowed members in Connecticut, and not a single established congregation. All of these signers, save Cutler, were graduates

. these gentlemen on their side; and he
by their example be encouraged to go
only knows. It is a very dark day with
his "History of Harvard College," decla
shook Congregationalism throughout Ne
earthquake, and filled all its friends with
hension." And President Woolsey, in his
course on the Hundred and Fiftieth An
Institution," says: "I suppose that grea
scarcely be awakened now if the theologic
college were to declare for the Church of R
belief in transubstantiation, and pray to th

After the above-named paper had been
signers were entreated to reconsider thei
give up their doubts; and at the suggesti
ernor (Governor Saltonstall) an attempt wa
the signers the satisfaction they craved by
sion in the college library. This was ap
day following the opening of the October
General Assembly. Governor Saltonstall hi
being a theologian of no mean ability. T
continued with dignity and decorum until
began to harangue in a declamatory way
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were wholly unshaken in their convictions. The college voted to excuse the Rev. Mr. Cutler from all further service as rector of Yale College, and to accept the resignation which Mr. Brown had made as tutor. It was provided also that all future rectors and tutors should, before their appointment was completed, declare to the trustees "their assent to the Confession of Faith owned and consented to at Saybrook, September 9, 1708, and shall particularly give satisfaction to them of the soundness of their faith in opposition to Arminian and prelatical corruptions, or any other of dangerous consequences to the purity and peace of our churches."

The straightforwardness of Mr. Cutler in this action has by some been called in question, because it is asserted that, even when coming to Yale College, his mind was disturbed on this subject. He is said to have declared to Mr. Hollis in London in 1723, "I was never in judgment heartily with the dissenters, but bore it patiently until a favorable opportunity offered. This has opened at Boston, and I now declare publicly what I before believed privately." His wife also is reported to have said that to her knowledge he had for eleven or twelve years been so persuaded, and that therefore he was the more uneasy in performing the acts of his ministry at Stratford, and the more readily accepted the call to a college appointment at New Haven. But, while it was inevitable that his conduct and methods should be aspersed by his contemporaries, there is not the least ground for suspecting the sincerity and genuineness of his convictions. Such a man in such circumstances does not come suddenly, or without cautious reflection and long-continued study, to a decision which reverses the current of his life and changes all his cherished associations. Doubtless he had had earlier doubts; but the opportunity for the study of this question offered by the

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and Johnson, met often in the lib
conferring together on the subject
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library furnished on the controver
row. Patrick ...

his decision was made: "I hoped when I was ordained that I had sufficiently satisfied myself of the validity of Presbyterian ordination under my circumstances, but I have had ever since growing suspicions that it is not right. . . . Oh that I could either gain satisfaction that I may lawfully proceed in the execution of the ministerial function, or that Providence would make my way plain for the obtaining of Episcopal orders! Do thou, O my God, direct my steps, and guide and lead me and my friends in thy way everlasting!" Immediately after the commencement Johnson made another record of his feelings, thus: "It is with great sorrow of heart that I am forced thus by the uneasiness of my conscience to be an occasion of so much uneasiness to my dear friends, my poor people, and, indeed, to the whole colony. O God, I beseech thee, grant that I may not, by an adherence to thy necessary truths and laws, be a stumbling-block or occasion of fall to any soul!"

Cutler, Brown, and Johnson at once set sail for England to receive ordination. It is sad to record that their conversion to the church excited some jealous apprehension in the minds of a few Episcopal clergymen of English birth in New England, lest they should "get the best places in the country, and take the bread from off our trenchers." The Rev. Matthias Plant, of Newbury, declared his readiness to join with the Rev. Henry Harris, assistant at King's Chapel at Boston, to oppose the converts, and addressed the Bishop of London for the purpose of preventing their ordination. Prominent laymen, however, recognized the value of this accession to the Episcopal ministry; and the churchwardens and vestry of Trinity Church, Newport, wrote to the secretary of the Venerable Society that, "upon the whole, it seems highly probable that upon these gentlemen's fate—we mean their reception and encourage-

ment—depends a grand revolution, if not a general revolt, from schism in these parts." These three friends were all ordained by the Bishop of Norwich, in St. Martin's Church, London, both deacons and priests, in March, 1723. Within a week after their ordination, Brown, who had preached the day before, was seized with smallpox, that most dire disease of the period, which is said to have carried off one fifth of all those who crossed the sea for ordination. He died on Easter even. His two friends, after visiting Oxford and Cambridge (both of which universities conferred upon Cutler the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and upon Johnson that of Master of Arts), were joined by James Wetmore, their fellow-signer, who was also ordained. Dr. Cutler and Mr. Johnson sailed for home in July, 1723. Cutler at once assumed charge of Christ Church in Boston, and Johnson proceeded to his mission in Stratford, Conn. Mr. Wetmore was sent to New York, being subsequently stationed at Rye, where he died of smallpox in 1760, after a successful ministry of thirty-seven years.

It was from this remarkable beginning that the church took vigorous root in Connecticut, though Johnson was the only one of the three converts who remained in that colony. He at once proceeded to Stratford, and by Christmas, 1724, he succeeded in completing the church which he found in process of building. This was the first edifice for the Church of England erected in Connecticut. His parish numbered some thirty families; but besides his ministrations in Stratford, Johnson cared for the church families, some forty or more, which he found scattered through the neighboring towns of Fairfield, Norwalk, Newtown, Ripton, and West Haven. He was the only church clergyman in the whole colony. He at once found the key to the situation, and appealed earnestly to the Bishop of London for a bishop for the colony. The church having

now an organization in Stratford, the rector received numerous intimations from various quarters of a desire to have the church planted among them.

Daniel Shelton, a wealthy landed proprietor of Ripton (now Huntington), and a sturdy opponent of the tax for the State Establishment, subscribed largely for a minister in his town, and he was the representative of many who were like-minded elsewhere. There was naturally great repugnance to the introduction of the Episcopal regimen and liturgical worship on the part of those who had hoped for a quiet possession of the region, to which they had come, in great measure, to escape what had been to them the rigorous rule of prelacy at home. Their opposition was strenuous, often more strenuous than scrupulous; but it was an opposition to a system they disliked, not to men whom they discredited either for looseness of doctrine or laxity of life. It was an opposition not to aliens, but to friends and neighbors, children of the soil, whose conversion they deemed perversion. They held that the gospel was already sufficiently ministered to the population; and their opposition to the contributions of the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) for the spread of Episcopacy was grounded in the conviction that they were fostering a needless schism. Of course human passion mingled largely with doctrinal devotion, and the defense of dogmatism was so engrossing as often to overshadow, if not obliterate, the spiritual precepts of the Sermon on the Mount.

The ruling order stood for their rights and the churchmen stood for their liberties. "Traitor" and "bigot" were the fraternal terms by which ecclesiastical combatants saluted each other; and the new Episcopacy was destined to have the full benefit of a sharp discipline. The church in its childhood was not to be spoiled for lack of the rod of the Puritan parent, where it could be legally applied;

and the construction of the law, as well as the embarrassments of struggling parishes, gave sufficient opportunity for repressive treatment.

Still the church grew and throve from the start. It was no exotic; it was no intrusion of a state establishment. It arose out of sober conviction, and was characterized by sobriety of life. If it were more correct than profound in its religious life, it was at least correct. It was deemed formal, but it could not be deemed fanatical. It based its claim on the assurance of knowledge and the maintenance of temperance, not on the turbulent outburst of an ill-regulated enthusiasm. It strove to minister first to its hidden friends as they came to light, desiring to avail themselves of the worship of the Prayer-book, and then to extend itself to those whom the rigors of a strict Calvinism were hardening into indifference. It was a needed counterpoise, to say no more, to the tendency toward the harsh rigidity of theological systems, and to the excessive individuality of Congregational independency. The appeal of its claims was historic, and the tenor of its discipline was communal rather than individual. It became, therefore, a refuge from the parochial tyranny of both pastor and people. The liberty of its household was protected by law, and that not the law of an isolated congregation. It emphasized the sacraments, the monuments of God's grace given, rather than individual experience in the ictic reception of that grace. Its religious life was deemed a development, and not a separate creation in each case. "Nurture," rather than "conversion," was its watchword. An historic system took the place in it of an inorganic spiritual discipline.

Johnson was fitted, both by nature and his spiritual experience among the Congregationalists, to be the father of the church movement. He knew the good qualities and

possessions of his opponents, and he also understood their lack. His benevolence of temper preserved him from rancor, and his calmness of soul saved him from irritation in controversy. He went steadily on his way, and always elicited respect, even when his principles were denounced. Some of the more strenuous of his Episcopal brethren called him once to account for sending his son to Yale College, because there he must attend extemporaneous prayers offered in the chapel by Congregational ministers. Johnson answered that he was not called to forego the education of his son, in the only place in the colony where he could get it, for attending prayers which, however incomplete, were not injurious, and which only intensified his son's love and preference for the devotions of the Prayer-book.

The relations of Johnson to his alma mater were always those of a filial and devoted son. It was he who, on a last visit to Dean Berkeley, before his departure for England, recommended the college to his friendly notice, "not having any further view than to hope he might send it some good books." The good dean responded liberally to the suggestion: He gave to his clerical friends the books he had brought over with him, and made a donation of all his own works to the college, and, aided by others, sent, after his return home, nearly a thousand volumes to its library. This, according to President Clap's estimate, "constituted the finest collection of books that had then ever been brought at one time to America." It was through Johnson, also, that the dean transmitted a deed conveying to the trustees of the college his Rhode Island farm of ninety-six acres, still in possession of the institution. Out of this broad-minded recognition of the value of the college, Johnson gained an influence there which led many of the graduates to enter the ministry of the

church, and thus gave to its infant struggles the support of an educated clergy.

One of the earliest of these learned recruits was Henry Caner, who graduated at Yale in 1724, to whom Johnson became theological instructor for three years, until he went abroad for ordination in 1727. After that he had him appointed missionary in Fairfield, the town adjoining Stratford. Here Caner assiduously ministered, and incorporated a church, the second in the colony, and extended his labors to the neighboring towns, such as Norwalk, Stamford, and Greenwich. Prayer-books and other religious publications were circulated, and the efforts to discover families favorable to the church, wherever they might be, were unremitting. These were found in Newtown, Redding, Ridgefield, and Danbury. Johnson also visited New Haven, New London, and Wethersfield.

Thus the movement spread. A great hindrance to it was the tax levied by the colony for the support of the churches of the Standing Order, which was a heavy addition to the voluntary contributions of churchmen for maintaining their own parishes. In the first five years of Johnson's ministrations in Stratford, eleven church families moved into New York for this sole reason. The wardens and vestrymen of Fairfield memorialized the General Assembly in 1727 to remove this burden; and in consequence a law was enacted permitting the taxes of churchmen to be applied to the minister of the Church of England, if there were one sufficiently near them to permit of their attending his ministrations. Parishioners of the Church of England were also excused from paying taxes for the building of meeting-houses for the churches of the colony. The law, however, was rendered in many cases nugatory by the construction put upon it. "Sufficient nearness" to the church was defined to be a distance within a mile

or two miles. Many of the scattered population were thus deprived of its benefit; and it became a nullity in those towns where there was no Episcopal church or minister.

This occasioned renewed efforts to secure resident missionaries from the Venerable Society (S. P. G.). McSparran, of Narragansett, came over from Rhode Island to give occasional services at New London and Groton; and a spirit of inquiry concerning the Scriptural grounds of difference between Episcopacy and Congregationalism was rife throughout Connecticut as early as 1730. The number of actual churchmen at this period was small. A tendency to a more conciliatory attitude toward Episcopacy was, however, manifest. Johnson writes at this period: "A love to the church gains ground greatly in the college. Several young men that are graduates, and some young ministers, are very uneasy out of the communion of the church, and some of them seem much disposed to come into her service; and those that are best affected to the church are the highest and most studious of any that are educated in the country."

A notable addition was made to the ministry at this time in the accession of Rev. Samuel Seabury, the father of Bishop Seabury, who gave up his charge as stated supply of the Second Ecclesiastical Society of North Groton, and, going to England, was ordained by Bishop Gibson. He was a graduate of Harvard. On his return home he began to officiate at New London, in a church not yet finished, to a congregation of a hundred persons, of whom fourteen were communicants. In less than two years wardens and vestrymen were chosen, and in April, 1732, the third Episcopal parish, with a church building and a resident minister, was established in Connecticut. In view of the subsequent career and influence of his son this was a notable conversion.

Two graduates of Yale, John Pierson and Isaac Brown (the latter a brother of the Brown who accompanied Johnson and Cutler to England and died there), went about this time to England for ordination, and their accession had its influence, though they were appointed to labor as missionaries in other colonies. John Beach, also, a prominent young Congregational minister at Newtown, entered the church under Johnson's influence, and after his ordination was appointed missionary in that town by the S. P. G. His earnestness rapidly increased his flock, and he reported accessions at every administration of the communion. He proceeded at once to erect two small churches at Redding and Newtown; and the eager activity of his movements may find an illustration in the fact that the frame of the building at Newtown was raised on Saturday, the roof-boards put on the same evening, and the congregation assembled within this church for worship on Sunday morning. Thus by 1734 the fourth and fifth churches having a resident minister were established in the colony.

Again, at North Groton there came an accession in the person of Ebenezer Punderson, the successor of the seceding Samuel Seabury as minister of the Congregational society, who was returned by the S. P. G., after his ordination, as missionary to the scene of his former labors. He was an itinerant missionary, and officiated at North Groton and Norwich, and penetrated to Hebron and Middletown. A parish was soon organized and a church built at North Groton; for Mr. Punderson was highly esteemed by his old parishioners, and drew many after him. Before this seventh church was erected, another, the sixth in order of church growth in the colony, had been built at Hebron (1734), on the occasion of the secession of Rev. John Bliss from the Congregational ministry, he having been the first minister of the town. Here Mr. Bliss served for a time as

lay reader. Johnson, now relieved by various missionaries, extended his own labors as far as Waterbury; and Mr. Caner, of Fairfield, was able to build a new church at Fairfield of far larger proportions and more imposing appearance than the first. By 1736 there were found to be seven hundred Episcopal families in the colony.

It has been deemed best to dwell on these minutiæ of the first ten years of the church's growth in Connecticut, to show the energy and sobriety of the clergy, and the persistent determination of the laity to secure the presence of the Episcopal Church among them. The church's growth, however, was not only the fruit of abundant labor, but also the result of sharp controversy. The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, the celebrated Presbyterian divine of New Jersey, early entered the lists in a remonstrance to a parishioner of Stratford church; and this drew out a rejoinder from Rector Johnson. He was not infrequently hereafter called upon to defend the church of his adoption from various assailants. Mr. Foxcroft, of Boston, made a sharp attack. The Rev. John Graham, of Woodbury, contributed sarcasm and ridicule to the controversy, which caused Mr. Johnson to publish a pamphlet on "Plain Reasons for Conforming to the Church"; and a fusillade of replies and rejoinders followed. Dickinson again published a sermon on "The Vanity of Human Institutions in the Worship of God," in which he charged conformists to the Church of England in the colony with willful schism. Mr. John Beach, the convert at Newtown, replied in a pamphlet called "A Vindication of the Worship of the Church of England"; and a lively conflict of tracts followed between these two. But the more the subject was discussed the greater was the growth of the church. It gained steadily all through the colony, and in the first ten years of its existence had taken firm root.

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The church continued to increase th

years. Arnold, the successor of Johnson at West Haven in the Congregational ministry, turned to the church in 1734, and became an itinerant missionary for the colony. The church which he began in West Haven is, with the exception of the one in Brooklyn, the only one now standing which was built in Johnson's lifetime. The position of West Haven was an important one, by reason of its nearness to New Haven and Yale College. The instructors and students who were churchmen went out there to worship on Sunday; and Mr. Arnold endeavored to secure land for a church in New Haven, which attempt was for a while frustrated by the violent opposition of some of the residents. The government was, however, more severe and hostile than the people in general. There was often very friendly intercourse between the missionaries and some of the Congregational ministers; and the common opposition of both to the excesses which came in with Whitefield's visitation tended to draw them nearer together.

It is time to speak of the widespread effects of that marvelous orator and devoted, if erratic, Christian minister of the Church of England, who stirred the whole community of Connecticut, as elsewhere, by his rare gift of eloquence. Before coming to Connecticut in 1740, he had had his career in Georgia, and had visited Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Everywhere his was the voice of the whirlwind and the storm. People came from over twenty miles to hear him. He had proved a power at Harvard College, as well as on Boston Common, where twenty thousand people are said to have assembled to hear his farewell sermon. Everywhere he kindled an intense enthusiasm. Before coming to New Haven he visited Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, and came with his imprimatur to the college town. His relations to the Church of England sat lightly on him. His denunciation of unspirituality was

as unsparing of priests and bishops as of the worldly or dissolute layman. His exercises were not limited by canons, and his methods showed scant acquaintance with rubrics. At the time of his visit to Connecticut he was almost completely identified with the ministers of the Standing Order, and his attitude toward the church led them to welcome him as an ally. He kindled the fire, but he could not control the conflagration. The most fanatical excesses followed in the wake of his preaching. While he smote the conscience, he stirred the passions. The hearts of men were like wax at his touch; but their imaginations were set on fire as with a devouring flame. The convictions of sin were mingled with bodily agitations and outcries. Jerkings and swoonings, faintings and trances, were regarded as the normal attendants of religious awakening. Soon the more sober-minded of the Congregationalists began to draw apart from him. Itinerant preachers rose up spontaneously to rebuke the unconverted worldliness of those who held that things should be done decently and in order. These came in for the same denunciations as the church clergy, and were styled "dumb dogs" and "Pharisees." The Standing Order was divided against itself. Some were carried away by the popular enthusiasm; others were repelled by the extravagances and the uproar. Thus it fell out that the church gathered in many who reacted against the prevailing enthusiasm. It grew continually all through the turmoil, and its growth was secure. Doubtless its own life was quickened by the prevailing religious atmosphere. It gained in warmth of feeling and depth of life by the contagion. For with all its faults and attendant evils, the movement had roused the slumberous life of Puritanism as by the call of a new reformation. It made religion an experience to many to whom it had been only a tradition. It vivified the gospel as a living oracle where it had be-

come mostly a thesaurus for theological speculation. It made very real the relations of the personal soul to the personal God. Crude theology, indeed, followed in its wake, as well as irrational tests of spiritual experience. But henceforth the churches were alive. The faults of the succeeding systems of divinity or methods of administration all had the note of vitality. The revival was a veritable quickening, and the church shared in the general benefit. It was, of course, bitterly denounced, and its ministers were contemptuously referred to as "unconverted." Even Johnson did not escape. The Congregational minister at Stratford, Hezekiah Gold, threatened him with a plain personal admonition as an intruder, and denounced him as a worker of all manner of mischief. This called forth a letter from Johnson as full of manliness as it was of humility; and the effect of it all was to stimulate the church growth. The good rector is reported to have replied humorously to an inquiry concerning his congregation at this time: "Yes, it is increasing. I am a feeble instrument in the hands of God; but, thanks be to him! he has placed my left-handed brother Gold here, who makes six churchmen while I can make one."

This effect was not confined to one locality. New churches were erected where before only a few worshipers had been gathered in private houses, as in Ridgefield, Waterbury, and Ripton (now Huntington). In Plymouth eleven out of the eighteen proprietors of the Congregational church declared for Episcopacy, and took possession of the building where the society had worshiped for the use of the church. The extravagances of the minister, named Todd, accounted for this change. In fine, Johnson wrote to a friend in London concerning this excitement: "It has occasioned such a growth of the church in this town (as well as in many other places) that the

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church, and making apparent, by his exception to the rule, the inestimable advantage Connecticut enjoyed in having a native and not an imported clergy. An unwillingness on the part of the S. P. G. to restrict the original jurisdiction of Mr. Price prevented Johnson's appointment; but the request for it reveals the spirit of confidence and hope to which the church which made it had attained.

The increase in the number of missionaries did not, unfortunately, keep pace with the multiplication of parishes. Caner, who for twenty years had labored faithfully at Fairfield, and who was the most popular church preacher in the colony, removed to Boston and became rector of King's Chapel. The elder Seabury having removed to Long Island, left Mr. Punderson the only church missionary in the eastern part of the colony. Several seceding Congregational ministers, graduates of Yale, were, after ordination, appointed missionaries in other colonies, so that Johnson did not fail to impress upon the Archbishop of Canterbury the great importance of having a resident bishop. He wrote: "I am persuaded at this juncture there are several dissenting teachers who would take orders if they could have them by riding, though it were three or four hundred miles, and would bring all their people with them that are not infatuated with this New Light. An English bishop would be the most effectual means to vastly enlarge the church."

In 1744 a threatened revisitation of Connecticut by Whitefield led the General Association of Congregational Ministers to declare that "it would be by no means advisable for any of their ministers to admit him into their pulpits, or for any of their people to attend his ministrations." At Yale College, also, President Clap and the tutors signed a declaration against his principles. Both these declarations tended to inspire confidence in the order, doctrine, and

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Gregson's Corner. "for ...

which was said to have been large enough to furnish seats for all the men of the Episcopal families in the town.

Johnson was greatly interested in this church, on account of its immediate proximity to the college; and Mr. Punderson, who had been an itinerant missionary, was, at his own request, appointed missionary to the church at New Haven, as well as to Guilford and Bradford, in the neighborhood. This establishment of a church in New Haven was an important advance, and was a decided help to the church in all the surrounding localities. The church would have grown more rapidly could it have obtained more missionaries; but already, several years before the first Trinity Church was built, in 1753, Lamson, Dibden, Fowle, Mansfield, and Camp had been added to the corps of clergy, and churches had been built at Stamford, Strathfield (Bridgeport), Guilford, Norwich, Litchfield, and Middletown. It was now fairly and widely distributed, and the controversies and conflicts, in which from time to time it was necessarily engaged, augmented and strengthened it. It was to meet a sore loss in the removal of its fostering father. Dr. Johnson was called to New York to be first president of King's (now Columbia) College. He had declined the invitation of Franklin to be Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia; but he accepted the appointment in New York for the purpose of forwarding the education of a church clergy free from the restrictions imposed upon them in the colleges of other denominations. These naturally guarded their own interests; and this was sometimes thought to necessitate legislation to restrict the spread of Episcopal churchmanship.

It had been settled that the president of King's College should be in communion with the Church of England, and that the liturgy of the church should be used at morning

, ... were obliged to rec
Confession of Faith as par
Thus, after thirty-one years
Stratford, Johnson went forth
and advance the interests of
church. He was made assistan
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in Stratford admitted four hun
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last-settled portions of it in the
Cornwall, Sharon, and Kent.
not be had.

he declares: "I never once tried to proselyte dissenters, nor do I believe any of the other ministers did. So far were we from promoting or taking advantage of any quarrels that happened among themselves that in many instances we obliged them to accommodate matters with their former brethren before we would receive them to our communion." Still no convert was repelled by a cold reception, and aggressive energy was a prominent characteristic of the whole church.

Solomon Palmer, who had long served as Congregational minister in Cornwall, traversed Litchfield County after his ordination, and was a pioneer of the church in several places in Massachusetts and New York, as well as in northern Connecticut. The parishes of the southern shore, from Norwich to Greenwich, were constantly increasing in numbers and strength; while in the interior, at Danbury and Newtown and other places, the unwearied efforts of the faithful missionaries, Beach and Leaming and Dibblee, were rewarded by an ever-increasing strength. Leaming, who was, after the Revolution, a prominent candidate for first Bishop of Connecticut, wrote to England, urging the need in the colony of a bishop to confirm, ordain, and govern. "Every Body," he said, "wants a Head; and when we have one, may we have a sound head and a religious heart." It was not to be until the severance from the mother-country. Then the mother could grant to the alien what she denied to the child. At this period there is this excuse, if excuse it be, for the indifference of England to this appeal. A special violence of opposition had arisen on the part of the Congregationalists to having a bishop sent. England would not incense a majority of the colony; and as in this matter the State ruled, the Church had to stand for a system the chief feature of which was denied them. It is amazing that the churchmen were not utterly disheart-

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the presidency of King's College,
where, on the retirement of Mr.
he was soon made once more r
old friend Wetmore, who had sto
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died of smallpox at Rye, N. Y.,
cut; and Mr. Punderson went t
and Mr. Palmer took his place
more vigorous prosecution of
under the very shadow of Yale
assaults made from

Archbishop Secker entered the lists, and gave so temperate and clear a statement of the objects and methods of the society as to completely answer Mayhew, who insisted that the society intended to usurp authority over the various Christian communities settled in America. In this rejoinder of the archbishop there occurred a statement intended to quiet the apprehensions of those who, like Mayhew, professed to dread the introduction of bishops as an hierarchical attempt to overthrow religious liberty in America. He said such American bishops, were intended to, "have no converse in the least with any persons who do not profess themselves to be of the Church of England, but may ordain ministers for such as do; may confirm, and take such oversight of the Episcopal clergy as the Bishop of London's commissaries have taken without offense. But it is not in the least desired that they should . . . infringe or diminish any privileges or liberties enjoyed by any of the laity, even of our own communion. This is the only scheme that has been planned for bishops in America; and whoever has heard of any other has been misinformed through mistake or design."

Such, then, was the position of the church in Connecticut up to the passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament (1765). Universal excitement was aroused throughout the colonies in consequence of that act. A general Congress of the colonies now met for the first time in New York; and the eldest son of Dr. Johnson was sent by the Assembly of Connecticut to represent the colony. His father sympathized with the patriots; but the expressions of various missionaries in their communications to the Venerable Society at this time indicated a sympathy with the mother-country which foretold what their course would be in the coming Revolution, yet ten years off. The repeal of the Stamp Act by Parliament a year later, accompanied by

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1766, a convention was held at Stratford
them were present, which prepared an add
of London, urging action on this subject.
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appeals continued to be made for the e
Johnson wrote strongly to the archbishop
recalled the fact that the last two candida
his Grace were lost by shipwreck on the
recounted the experiences of the last forty
ten candidates out of fifty had been lost
through the "perils of the sea," and end
"If such a thing as sending one or two bis
be done for us, this article of thine, now th
are overflowing with joy for the repeal of tl
would be the happiest juncture for it that
believe they would rather twenty bishops
the act enforced."

Dr. Chauncy, the celebrated Congregati
Boston, about this time published a "Lette
in which he stated that the sole ...

undertake the task; and Dr. Chandler, of Elizabethtown, N. J., at his request, and that of many of the clergy of New York and New Jersey, published an "Appeal to the Public," in which he pointed out how needless were alarms at the thought of an American episcopate. Some months after the appearance of the "Appeal," the press of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, inflamed more with political than theological passion, launched their thunders at it. Dr. Chauncy put forth a pamphlet of two hundred pages, entitled "The Appeal to the Public Answered," in which he declared, with heat generated by both political and ecclesiastical passion, "We are fully persuaded, as if they had openly said it, that they have in view nothing short of a complete church hierarchy, . . . with a large revenue for their grand support, and with the assurance of no other privilege to dissenters but that of a bare toleration." This set at liberty a series of lively papers, full of stinging personalities and uncharitable aspersions of motives, in which the old Adam got very much the better of the young Melanchthon. Dr. Chandler, however, published a dignified reply, called "The Appeal Defended," and in 1771 "The Appeal Further Defended," in answer to a previous reply of his adversary. This closed the controversy, which, like most controversies of the kind, kindled a great deal of animosity and probably changed the opinion of no single soul.

When, late in 1766, shortly after the formal addresses of the clergy to the Bishop of London, Dr. Johnson's son, William Samuel Johnson, left for England as a special agent of Connecticut in an important cause before the Lords in Council, he, being a churchman, was regarded with great interest by the authorities of the colony as a source of information concerning ecclesiastical affairs. Governor Trumbull wrote to him to inquire about the intentions

of the English government concerning the American bishops; and Mr. Johnson answered in the same strain as characterized Dr. Chandler's "Appeal." In notifying the governor that there was no intention at that time to send bishops to America, he stated with the utmost distinctness that "it had been merely a religious, and in no respect a political scheme." "As I am myself," he continued, "of the Church of England, you will not doubt that I have had the fullest opportunity to be intimately acquainted with all the stages that have ever been taken in this affair, and you may rely upon it that it never was, nor is, the intention or even wish of those who have been most sanguine in the matter that American bishops should have any, the least degree of secular power of any nature or kind whatsoever, much less any measure of concern or connection with Christians of any other denomination, nor even any power, properly so called, over the laity of the Church of England. They wish them to have merely the spiritual powers which are incident to the episcopal character as such, which, in the ideas of that church, are those of ordination and confirmation, and of presiding over and governing the clergy; which can, of course, relate to those of that profession only who are its voluntary subjects, and can affect nobody else. More than this would be thought rather disadvantageous than beneficial, and, I assure you, would be opposed by no man with more zeal than myself, even as a friend to the Church of England. Nay, I have the strongest grounds to assure you that more would not be accepted by those who understand and wish well to the design, were it even offered."

After such assurances by such a man, the authorities of Connecticut could have no excuse for cherishing the prejudices so apparent in Dr. Chauncy's letter, save that inveterate and long-cherished, nay, hereditary dislike of

prelacy, begotten of the persecution of their forefathers in England. The feeling of dread and opposition, however, continued, and the expression of it weighed heavily with the political leaders of the English state. Archbishop Secker might urge and bequeath a thousand pounds toward the establishment of an American bishop; Sherlock might earnestly petition the king to the same end; but the fear of offending the Independents, who constituted the vast majority in the colony, and thus hampering political projects, effectually prevented parliamentary leaders from even seriously considering the question.

Notwithstanding the long disappointment of their hopes, the missionaries did not slacken their zeal in the maintenance and spread of the church. Candidates continued to cross the sea for ordination. Dr. Johnson, in his old age, being relieved from part of his parish duties by his assistant, Mr. Kneeland, kept up a sort of small divinity school, training young men for holy orders. In 1769 there were seventeen resident missionaries in Connecticut.

The last new enterprise before the Revolution was that which established the church in Pomfret, in the northeastern part of the colony, under the patronage and generous assistance of Mr. Godfrey Malborn, who had moved there from Newport, R. I. He was a man of wealth, and in order to avoid contributing to the town tax for a new meeting-house, he resolved to spend the amount, and more, in building an Episcopal church. In the important center, New Haven, there was also decided growth, so that a hundred Episcopal families were gathered there, besides thirty-five at West Haven. In Newtown Mr. Beach reported not only growth, but a more kindly feeling between churchmen and Congregationalists; and Simsbury came third in the list of the church's strength. Hartford, which has since been such a center of Episcopal power, was not ecclesiastically

prominent until after the war. But nowhere was the church so strong as in Fairfield County, the place of its first establishment, where it had had Johnson's more immediate care. There it included a third of the people. In Newtown the church divided equally the population with the Standing Order. Churchmen from Mr. Beach's mission and from other fields had by this time moved into the distant parts of Massachusetts, Vermont and New Hampshire, and were from time to time visited by their former pastors. Thus was the church constantly alert.

And now, before the war should have despoiled the goodly heritage which he had nurtured, the noble Johnson was called home, and the church was left without his sage counsels to direct it in its most momentous crisis. On the morning of the Feast of the Epiphany (1772) he suddenly expired in his chair, having just expressed a wish to die like his friend Bishop Berkeley, who had passed away in the same manner. It was well that he went, for he could not have prevented the calamities of the war, and they would have rent his heart asunder. He was one of the noblest men of his day and generation, firm in his convictions, charitable in his judgments, wise in his counsels, indefatigable in his labors, sincere in his piety, incorruptible in word and deed. He was the heart and soul of the church movement in Connecticut, but he never broke with his old friends of the Standing Order. He honored Yale College and was honored by it. He brought up his son to be one of the distinguished men of the colony while the colony was ruled by those who opposed all his cherished ecclesiastical convictions. He saw with clear vision the needs of the church, and labored assiduously to supply them. Happily he was spared the hour of her disaster; but his influence wrought mightily in her reconstruction when once the time of her deliverance came. No name

deserves more reverent mention in all the annals of the church in America than the name of Samuel Johnson.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the church which Johnson had fostered numbered twenty clergymen and forty churches. All but two or three of these missionaries were natives of the colony. The few English missionaries, with a native, Samuel Peters, of Hebron, at their head, made themselves especially obnoxious to the government, and were either removed from the colony or went their way of themselves. The native clergy mostly remained at their various missons; but all sided with the English government. The war appeared to them as much a cause of the church as of the state. In great measure they drew their support from the Venerable Society; and the oath of allegiance taken at their ordination seemed to bind them to the king no less than to the Archbishop of Canterbury. They were not the sole adherents to the home government. A score of Congregational ministers in New England stood on the same side. Here, as in Massachusetts, the number of loyalists was by no means inconsiderable. When Howe evacuated Boston, the royal fleet took with it eleven hundred loyalists, including eighteen clergymen. From Connecticut there was no such exodus, and loyalist and patriot lived on side by side. But the opposition to the war was far greater than in Massachusetts; and even there the bill sanctioning the war was twice defeated before it was finally passed. Indeed, in the early years of the war, forty thousand Tories enlisted on the king's side; and in its last year, when New York was evacuated, ten thousand left the city. When Inglis, the rector of Trinity Church, reached Nova Scotia in 1783, thirty thousand refugees had preceded him. The Episcopal clergy were thus not exceptionally singular in their attachment to the crown. The exceptional feature was that while other bodies were divided,

Episcopal clergymen at the North were of one heart and mind.

The church congregations were greatly divided in sentiment. In Derby, Mansfield reported only twenty families, out of the one hundred and thirty of his flock, as siding with the Revolution. In Stratford, only about ten miles distant, not a man dissented from the Revolutionary measures. Most of the clergy held their peace, or took no active part in the movements of the hour. Some were less prudent. Dr. Mansfield, of Derby, in writing to Governor Tryon, of New York, concerning the indignities shown to loyal members of his flock, suggested measures for reducing the colony to obedience. His letter was discovered, and, to escape punishment and imprisonment, he had to flee to Long Island. Mr. Beach, of Newtown, who was very outspoken in the pulpit and out of it, was at one time put under strict guard. Mr. Nile, of Simsbury, suspected of assisting royalist prisoners to escape, was carried a prisoner to Hartford jail. Mr. Leaming, who wrote vigorously for the royal cause, had his house mobbed and was lodged in jail. After the Declaration of Independence, some of the clergy were pulled out of their reading-desks for using the prayer for the king.

These men suffered for political causes, as is inevitable in such a war. There was doubtless much needless violence; but the heat engendered of war is not nice in its discrimination. Passion was not the prerogative of one party only. Mr. Beach, of Newtown, venerable and excellent man that he was, gave great offense to the Sons of Liberty by his outspoken defiance, and declared that "he would do his duty, and preach and pray for the king, till the rebels cut out his tongue." It is said that some miscreant fired once at him while officiating in Redding, the ball lodging in the sounding-board. The intrepid old man

paused merely to repeat the text, "Fear not them which kill the body, and are not able to kill the soul," and then went on with the service as though nothing had happened.

The indiscretions, to say the least, of these ardent clerical loyalists were the cause of much suffering to their more prudent brethren. Several of the missionaries were forbidden to go beyond their respective missions, and were sometimes not allowed to visit a parishioner without leave of the selectmen of the town. They were in great straits from their inability to draw their salaries from the Venerable Society; and as they could not pray in public for the king and royal family, as the liturgy prescribed, without great danger to property, if not to life, a convention held in New Haven in July, 1776 (after the Declaration of Independence), resolved to suspend public worship. In consequence all the churches in Connecticut, except those under Mr. Beach, were for a time closed. Here, then, was a church with clergy suspected and denounced, and with ministerial functions quite suspended. Some, after a time, like Mr. Tyler, of Norwich, were wise enough to decide to read the service, omitting the obnoxious prayers, concluding, as in his own words, "that the cause of religion ought not to be annihilated on a civil account." In November, 1778, his church was reopened. In New Haven Mr. Hubbard took a like course in Trinity Church, and prayed for "Congress and the free and independent States of America." Others, like Mr. Graves, of Norwich, deemed such usage or disusage sacrilege, and after being roughly handled in church, "and brought expeditiously to the level of the floor," were finally obliged to flee to New York. Mr. Sayre, of Fairfield, took a different course. He held Sunday services in church, but would not use any part of the liturgy, for he would not mutilate it. He read Scripture lessons and psalms and the homilies, and expounded

the catechism, thus, as he says, "enjoying one of the two general designs of public religious meetings, public instruction; the other, to wit, public worship, was inadmissible in our circumstances." He, however, had the misfortune to lose both his church and parsonage by the flames of the conflagration kindled by the direction of General Tryon to destroy Fairfield, though it had been designed to save the church property. The church at Norwalk was destroyed in the same manner by the same hands. The church suffered by both its friends and its enemies.

In other places, where the churches were not destroyed, they were defaced and pillaged, as at Danbury by the British, and at Watertown and Litchfield by the patriots. Mr. Beach wrote in 1781 to the secretary of the Venerable Society: "Newtown and Redding are the only parts of New England, I believe, that have refused to comply with the doings of Congress. My two congregations are growing, at Redding being commonly about three hundred, at Newtown six hundred." He died before the war ended, and was spared the triumph of his countrymen. What he did and suffered was for conscience' sake; and the intrepidity of his character commands universal respect, even from those who deplore his mistaken convictions.

The missionaries held on tenaciously to their course through the buffetings of both sides in the contest. As a last touch of misfortune, the church in New London was burned in the conflagration kindled by Benedict Arnold, who had been sent by Sir Henry Clinton to make a diversion which might delay or frustrate Washington's expedition to Yorktown and the capture of Cornwallis. Thus three of the largest churches were destroyed by those whom the clergy favored and upheld, and many churchmen fell in the atrocious and fratricidal massacre at Groton.

When the war closed it found the church "cast down,

but not destroyed." Three of the principal churches had been burned by the British. The missionaries Peters, Graves, and Sayre had fled. Two, Beach and Kneeland, had died. Fourteen, however, were in their parishes, Leaming being still in New York, whither he had gone after the burning of his church at Norwalk by General Tryon. The severance of the tie to the mother-country had cut the bond which joined the missionaries to the Venerable Society, as the charter of that society restricted its contributions to missions within the realm of Great Britain. Hence their salaries were gone, their numbers depleted, and their churches, to some extent, destroyed or dilapidated; and those who remained were in ill favor by reason of their attachment to the losing side. Whatever they had lost, however, they had not lost heart. With indomitable pluck, they prepared to carry on their cause with yet more effective weapons than they had heretofore possessed. Their prompt action looking to the resuscitation of the church, when once hostilities had ceased, belongs to the period not of its colonial history, but of its reconstruction under the auspices of national independence. We therefore close the history of the English Church in Connecticut at this point, when it ceased to be English and began to be American; but not without a tribute to that sturdy steadfastness in the day of its incompleteness which was the sure prophecy of its intrepid advance in the day of its completed organization.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN NEW YORK.

THE history of the Church of England in New York really begins in 1693, thirty years after the English had wrested the province from the Dutch. In 1609 Henry Hudson, an English mariner, sailing under the auspices of the Amsterdam directors of the Dutch East India Company, discovered the island of Manhattan, and ascended the Hudson River as far as the present site of Albany. In 1623 the first real attempts to colonize New Netherland began. Then a company of Belgian Protestants, called Walloons, was sent over, eight of them remaining on Manhattan Island, and part ascending the river to the present site of Albany, where they built Fort Orange. Peter Minuit, a director of the company, came in 1626 and bought the island of Manhattan of the natives for twenty-four dollars. In 1628 Michaelius, a minister of the Reformed Church, arrived, and organized a church with fifty communicants; and in 1656 there were four Dutch clergymen in New Netherland sent out by the Classes of Amsterdam.[1]

In 1647 Peter Stuyvesant became governor; an honest and passionate man, strenuously opposed to popular rights. He warred with the Swedes and extended the jurisdiction of the Dutch over their territory on the Delaware. He was intolerant to the Lutherans and the Baptists, and fined,

[1] Fisher, "Colonial Era," p. 181.

whipped, imprisoned, and banished Quakers, after Massachusetts fashion. Persecutions only ceased when, in 1663, the company gave Stuyvesant to understand that they must cease.

The character of his administration explains the easy conquest of the country by the English, as well as accounts for the occasion of it. It was due mainly to commercial rivalry. Charles II. had made a grant of the territory lying between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers, comprehending Long Island, to his brother, the Duke of York. The duke determined, in the interests of the Navigation Act, to assert his claims and give England and her American colonies the benefit of free trading with the region held by the Dutch. In the meantime it was known that the commerce of New Netherland had not flourished under the rule of the West India Company, and that the people, comparing their situation with New England, which now contained over one hundred thousand inhabitants to seven thousand in New Netherland, were discontented. When, therefore, in 1663, the Duke of York sent four ships, containing four hundred and fifty regular troops, to take possession, he found an easy prey. Stuyvesant prepared to resist with spirit, but yielded the place at the solicitation of the authorities and clergy of the city, who, together with the officers of the burgher guard, saw that surrender was inevitable. Fort Orange, up the Hudson, and the forts on the Delaware were shortly taken; and the province, as well as New Amsterdam, was henceforth called New York. Albany was the name given to Fort Orange, that being the second title of the duke.

The internal dissensions already mentioned, together with the neglect of the Dutch home government, easily reconciled the people to the change, especially as the property and the civil rights of the citizens were guaranteed. There

was no religious establishment; and freedom of religion was conceded to all professing Christianity, though service in each parish on Sunday was obligatory. Divine service according to the English liturgy was allowed to be held in the Dutch church in the fort at New Amsterdam, after the service of the Reformed Church was over, a courtesy remembered and repaid by Trinity Church more than a hundred years afterward, when, in 1779, during the Revolutionary War, it gave the use of St. George's Chapel to the Dutch congregation, whose church at that time was taken for a hospital by the king's troops. In making this offer the vestry expressed themselves as "impressed with a grateful remembrance of the former kindness of the members of that ancient church in permitting the use of their church to the members of the Church of England when they had no proper edifice of their own."

The surrender of New York to a Dutch squadron in 1673, and its restoration to the English in 1674, changed some of the ecclesiastical arrangements. Sir Edmund Andros was appointed governor with enlarged powers; and he describes New York in 1678 as containing twenty-four towns, and adds, "religions of all sorts: one Church of England, Quakers and Anabaptists, some Jews, but Presbyterians and Independents most numerous and substantial." He was strenuous in his advocacy of the English Church; but the Assembly passed a charter guaranteeing freedom of conscience and religion to all who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ. When the Duke of York became King James II., he abolished the popular Assembly, and New York became a royal province.

Colonel Thomas Dougan, a Roman Catholic, succeeded Andros, bringing Rev. John Gordon with him as chaplain of the royal forces. The instructions of the king, though himself a papist, still guarded the interests of the Church

of England. "You shall take especial care," he wrote, "that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout the government; the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now established, read each Sunday and holy day, and the blessed sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England." When James was dethroned, and William and Mary were proclaimed, in 1688, an insurrection, or revolution, occurred, headed by Jacob Leslie, which was finally overcome in 1691, when Leslie was executed. This insurrection did not affect the church, save to accentuate the Protestant element, of which Leslie was the devoted adherent.

Colonel Henry Stoughton, who was appointed governor by William and Mary, was directed to give religious liberty to all but Roman Catholics, who, on account of political considerations, were now discredited. He was also instructed to have the Prayer-book read in the colony. It was, however, under Governor Fletcher, who succeeded Stoughton, that the English Church began to grow and was accorded precedence. It was the proposition of Miller, the English chaplain of the fort, that a bishop with attendant clergymen should be sent over from England; but, like all such appeals, this was never acted on. Under Governor Fletcher an attempt was made to secure a quasi-establishment of the church, which succeeded. An act of the Assembly was passed in 1693, providing that in four specified counties, New York, Westchester, Queens, and Richmond, there should be five ministers supported by the county, and that all freeholders should vote in the election of vestrymen and wardens. Governor Fletcher insisted that the act must relate to Episcopal ministers only. The Assembly repudiated this construction of the act, and declared by vote that the vestries might call a "dissenting Protestant minister." From this time on, however, it con-

The population of New York
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of worship, shared by the Dutc
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for the English congregation w.
Fletcher, therefore, in 1695, began
ize and build a church on ground
on Broadway, without the North
property still occupied by Trinity
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When, in 1696, the church buil
pleted, the appointment of a rector b
The choice lay in the city vestry; f
the church a corporate body had n
This vestry had been elected, accord
by all the freeholders of the city with
belief. Urged by the governor to
January of the year previous (1695)
act of 1693 to call "to be ministe
York," Mr. William Vesey, an
preaching at Hempstead, on Long
was confirmed as lawful by the G
with apparent reason

it, presumably meant to include other than episcopally ordained clergymen.

The vestry's action, however, in the choice of Mr. Vesey, was directly in the face and teeth of the governor's intention. He consequently prorogued the Assembly, and the vestry's call fell through. By the next year the complexion of the city vestry was greatly changed, its membership having become much more favorable to the English Church; indeed, the two city wardens and seven of the ten vestrymen of the city vestry of 1694 afterward became part of the church vestry of the parish. They proceeded, November 6, 1696, to call Mr. Vesey for the second time to be "minister of the city of New York," but now on condition that he should procure episcopal ordination in England. The Dutch element, having been propitiated by a liberal charter granted by the governor to the Dutch church, acquiesced. Personally Mr. Vesey was "persona grata" to them, as they had previously called him. Ecclesiastically he would now be acceptable to the "managers of the affairs of the Church of England" and to the governor. He was an estimable young man, a graduate of Harvard College of the class of 1693. He is reputed to have belonged to an old church family of Braintree, Mass.; but after leaving college he had officiated among the Independents at Hempstead, L. I., supported by the tax authorized by the act of 1693. He was a popular preacher in Queens County, and was well known in the city of New York. At the time of this second call the vestry had before them the certificate of Rev. Samuel Myles, rector of King's Chapel, Boston, and of the two churchwardens, testifying to the excellent religious character of Mr. Vesey, and to the fact of his often receiving the sacrament in that church. On these grounds he was called; and he, accepting the call, agreed to repair

to England for ordination, which he did the following spring, and was ordained by the Bishop of London, August 16, 1697.

On May 6, 1697, "the managers of the affairs of the Church of England in the city of New York" petitioned for a charter, praying to be incorporated with the powers and privileges usually appertaining to the churches of the Establishment. They cited the fact that, there being then no building for the public worship of God according to the Church of England, "they had built a church and covered the same," and they asked the application of the maintenance voted in the act of the Assembly of 1693 for the minister's support, and also for a grant of land near the church. The council granted the petition, and on the same day the governor issued a charter, in the name of the king, agreeable to the petition, and constituted the said church and cemetery to "be the sole and only parish church and churchyard of the said city of New York." The rector named in the charter was the Bishop of London, Dr. Henry Compton; and among the wardens and vestrymen occur the names, so familiar still in the history of the city, of Ludlow, Janeway, Read, Morris, Emott, Clarke, and others, led by that of Colonel Heathcote, so energetic in the spread of the church everywhere, especially in Connecticut, and an ancestor of the first Bishop of Western New York, William Heathcote De Lancey.

The appointment of the Bishop of London as rector was, of course, only provisional, to satisfy the conditions of the charter. Mr. William Vesey, whom he so soon afterward ordained, became resident rector in the same year. Steps were immediately taken, when once the charter and gifts conferred by it were granted, to complete the church edifice; and a sum sufficient for the purpose was ordered to be charged on all the inhabitants in the parish, payable

in seven years. Subscriptions were also taken for the purpose; and it is amazing and amusing to note that in but one case did they amount to five pounds, and that they mostly consisted of one or two pounds. A special subscription for the building of the steeple amounted to a little over three hundred and twelve pounds, of which nearly six pounds was contributed by the Jews. It is interesting, in view of the subsequent wealth of the parish, to observe the various means used to collect funds for the church. Some money, amounting to about three hundred pounds, which had been collected for the redemption of Christian slaves taken by the "Sally" from Algeria (which still remained in the public coffers, as the slaves had died or escaped), was obtained from the council for finishing and furnishing the church. His Excellency also granted the wardens a commission for all "Weifts, Wrecks and Drift Whales," for the same purpose. Four hundred pounds was also borrowed, and became a corporation debt. The great endowment of Trinity Church was made in 1705, in the reign of Queen Anne, by a deed patent, signed by Lord Cornbury, then governor, conveying to the corporation the Queen's Farm, a tract of land extending along the river from the present site of St. Paul's Chapel to Christopher Street. It was, of course, at that time wholly unproductive; but it has since been the source from which the Trinity corporation has chiefly derived the revenues for its own extensive and constantly extending parish activities, and for the munificent gifts to such corporations as Columbia (then King's) College, the Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning, and Trinity School, and to such churches as St. Mark's, St. George's, and Grace in the city, and to many other parishes within and without the city which have been founded or generously fostered by the mother-church of the diocese.

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Southern States or in New England. In the South it was more completely established; but it was there the church of a thoroughly agricultural community, widely scattered, containing a vast slave population, where the parishes were immense in territory, but whose inhabitants were separated by wretched roads and an absence of public conveyances. A landed aristocracy existed, the members of which were greatly isolated; and there were no great centers where they could come frequently together and form a communal life. There could be no concentration of church effort, and discipline was relaxed by distance and the quasi-independence of the rectors. In New England the church was not only in the minority, but was discredited and discountenanced. There it was in fact a dissenting body. It had to fight for existence. The institutions of learning were in the hands of its adversaries. The tone and temper of society were at variance with the doctrinal and ecclesiastical convictions of churchmen. It lived by sufferance, and was an object of suspicion and dread. In New York it stood at the head of a community not inimical beyond the limits of denominational rivalry, when not identified with it; a community where the amenities of social life flourished, and where it received the prestige of royal favor and princely munificence.

The Dutch church in Garden Street, and the Huguenot church in Pine Street, together with Trinity Church, furnished services in the three languages, English, French, and Dutch. There was a population of industrious and prosperous tradesmen of these various nationalities. There was also an aristocracy of vast landed proprietors, the patroons, whose immense estates lay in the neighborhood of the Hudson, but who built fine houses in the city, in which they lived in winter. Here they resided in princely fashion, with great retinues of servants, both white and

black. Their entertainments were frequent and splendid. If not of the church, they were not hostile to it; and by reason of the blind insistence of the Dutch in holding their services in a foreign language, the sons and daughters of the patroons and the higher classes generally found it more agreeable to attend the English service, and drifted slowly and surely into that communion. Kindly feelings for the most part existed between the two churches, but the English Church was the absorbent. It had the advantages without the drawbacks of the South. It shared the enterprise and earnestness of New England, unburdened by opposition and distrust.

Immediately on the completion of Trinity Church there began a rapid development of church life. The first building was a small square edifice, which was enlarged in 1787, when it attained the size of a hundred and forty-eight feet in length and seventy-two feet in breadth, with a steeple a hundred and seventy-five feet in height. The interior is described as being more richly ornamented than any other place of public worship. There was an altar-piece in the chancel. Gilt busts of winged angels crowned the tops of the pillars which upheld the gallery, and two glass chandeliers hung from the ceiling. The side walls were decorated with the arms of some of the principal benefactors of the church. A gallery on the south side was erected for the use of the governor and council. A fine organ stood in the gallery at the west end.

Mr. Vesey proved a valuable and churchly rector. He possessed the instincts of a churchman, and called forth the commendations of Lord Cornbury, the governor, and Colonel Heathcote, both noted for their ardent churchmanship. He was maintained by a tax levied on all the inhabitants of the city, amounting to a hundred and sixty pounds; one hundred in perpetuity to the parish, and sixty,

added by an act of the Assembly, while Mr. Vesey should remain incumbent. Twenty-six pounds was added by the governor's council for house-rent. Fees, also, for burials and marriages were established by the vestry as his perquisite.

About this time the parish was the recipient of many valuable gifts from various distinguished persons. The Bishop of London presented a bell and sixty pounds, and also "a parcell of books of Divinity." The Bishop of Bristol gave paving-stones; Lord Cornbury, a black-cloth pall, also two Prayer-books, and the beginnings of a library. The benefactions and patronage of such distinguished persons could not fail to influence the temporal condition of the parish. This did not, however, release the rector from the many trials and vexations incident to his situation, and which bore heavily on a man of Mr. Vesey's temperament. The growth of the church under his faithful and painstaking oversight was steady, both from the incoming of English residents and the accession to it of numbers of the Dutch and Huguenot families. The civic and social jealousies of such propagandism at one time seemed to array society in two factions: churchmen headed by the De Lanceys, and Presbyterians led by the Livingstons. In a formative and rapidly growing society such as New York then exhibited, religious differences entered largely into political and social questions. Such local and temporary disagreements, however, grew less and less evident as the various parties grew more and more self-reliant; so that when, in 1780, the Dutch church returned thanks to the vestry of Trinity for the use of St. George's Chapel during the occupation of their own house of worship as a hospital, they spoke of their congregation as those "who have always considered the interests of the two churches as inseparable, and hope that this instance of brotherly love will

evince to posterity the cordial and happy union subsisting between us."

Mr. Vesey was mindful of the interests of the church in the counties as well as in the city. At his suggestion, as early as 1702, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel decided that six missionaries should be sent to New York. Rev. Patrick Gordon was appointed to Jamaica, L. I., but died soon after his arrival. The Rev. J. Bastow, who was sent the same year to Westchester, N. Y., found only ten churchmen there, but two years afterward made a report of many accessions, saying, "Those who were enemies at my first coming are now zealous professors of the ordinances of our church." Many Presbyterians at East Chester forsook their minister and conformed to the church; and the Dutch thronged to hear the rector preach at Yonkers, where he sometimes officiated in a private house or barn. The Rev. J. Thomas, who came to Hempstead and Oyster Bay, on Long Island, in 1704, found a population very ignorant of church ordinances and church ways; but in 1709 he reports thirty-five communicants from among them. The Rev. E. Mackenzie was sent to Staten Island in 1704, and was enabled by the society to establish schools and distribute books. The Dutch and French Huguenots were already there, but the English consisted chiefly of Quakers and Baptists. The French especially received the missionary kindly, giving him the use of their church until his own was built; and the Dutch, after receiving the Prayer-book in their own language, allowed their children to be instructed in the church catechism, as also did the French and all but a few of the English dissenters. Mr. Mackenzie was highly esteemed, and his labors wrought a decided reformation in the manners and morals of the people. The Rev. George Muirson, whom the society sent to Rye in 1705, found few church-members there, but soon gathered a large congre-

gation from persons of all persuasions. He was a beacon-light, also, to the neighboring churchmen of Connecticut, just over the border of the Province, and, accompanied by Colonel Caleb Heathcote, performed the first Episcopal service in Stratford, where he also baptized a number of persons and founded a mission. At New Rochelle, in 1709, the Venerable Society, at the solicitation of the French Protestant church there, adopted their minister, Rev. D. Burdet, instructing him in the liturgy; and the people generally conformed, and provided a new church, a house, and a glebe. At Albany, which was thus early an important center as a chief trading-station with the Indians, and as the garrison post where two or three hundred soldiers were stationed to guard against the ravages of the French and Indians, the Venerable Society, in 1709, appointed the English chaplain at the fort, Rev. T. Barclay, to be its missionary. There were nearly four thousand inhabitants then in the place, mainly Dutch. The Dutch minister at this time had returned to Europe, and Mr. Barclay had the use of the Lutheran church for seven years, and a large number of the Dutch conformed. He was very diligent, also, in instructing the negro slaves. A new church was built for him, and finished in 1716. This was the first building of St. Peter's Church, Albany, where Mr. Barclay remained as rector until 1728. When appointed missionary, he was directed by the society to instruct the neighboring Indians. This he did with assiduity, and in October, 1712, opened a chapel which had been built among the Mohawks, who had received him favorably. He officiated once a month at Schenectady, and often for the Indians lying twenty-four miles west of it. Such progress was made by his unwearied labors among them that in 1712 the S. P. G. sent Rev. William Andrews as a special missionary to the Indians, among whom he made

for a time a good impression. The Indians built a schoolhouse. Portions of the Prayer-book and Bible were provided in the Mohawk language, as well as school-books, and instruction was diligently given in the same. Fifty Indians were baptized within six months, of whom eighteen became communicants. A little later the introduction of rum by the traders wrought great demoralization, and the mission had to be suspended in 1719. Later on, in 1734, Mr. Henry Barclay, son of the Rev. Thomas Barclay, was appointed catechist to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter immediately after his graduation at Yale College. Mr. Barclay proved so efficient and devoted in this sphere that when Mr. Miln resigned his rectorship of St. Peter's, Albany, in 1737, he was appointed his successor as rector of the parish. Here he continued his labors among the Indians to such effect that in 1741 he reported to the S. P. G. that his congregation in Albany consisted of a hundred and eighty English, besides two companies of soldiers; and in Mohawk County of five hundred Indians settled in two towns thirty miles from Albany. He had sixty English and fifty-eight Indian communicants. In 1743 he stated that two or three only of the whole tribe remained unbaptized, and that he had appointed two Mohawk schoolmasters to teach the young Mohawks, who were very diligent and successful. He labored with great zeal and success until the latter part of 1745, when his work was rudely checked by the intrigues of the French and a hostile invasion of Indians. The prospect of doing good among the natives during the continuance of hostilities seemed now almost hopeless; and Mr. Barclay, after much hesitation, concluded to accept the call of Trinity Church, New York, to be its second rector, the Rev. Mr. Vesey having died the previous year. He was inducted into that office December 22, 1746, and, amid all the labors it involved, never lost his interest in the Indians,

among whom he had labored like an apostle. He never afterward relaxed his efforts in their behalf. In his last years, about 1762, he was engaged in superintending a new edition of the Indian Prayer-book. This Indian mission was continued by a succession of able missionaries, and as a consequence the Mohawks were the only Indian nation who continued steadfast to the English in all their wars.

Nothing is more praiseworthy, either in the history of the Venerable Society or in the annals of Trinity Church, than the care and attention given to the Indian natives and the negro slaves of New York. During its connection with the province the Venerable Society employed sixteen clergymen and thirteen lay readers for these helpless and ignorant classes. Trinity Church, from the very start, maintained, and persuaded the Venerable Society to maintain, catechists and schoolmasters for the Indians and negroes of the city. Of the slaves there were then about fifteen hundred, and great pains was taken to get hold of them by Mr. Elias Neau. He was a Huguenot who had been imprisoned abroad for his religion, and who, coming to New York as a trader, conformed to the English Church on account of his attachment to the liturgy, part of which he had learned by heart in his dungeon. For a long series of years he labored with great assiduity among the negroes, bringing them to church on Sundays to be catechised by the rector, and instructing them on week-day evenings, the only time when they could be reached by his labors. All this was done in the face of prejudice and scorn, which seem to have been attached to the negro race from the introduction of slaves into the country. He was a catechist of the Venerable Society, whose attention he had called to this field of labor, and a fine type, in that early day, of the devout layman. After his death the Venerable Society appointed others to carry on his work, and the mission

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English Prayer-book, asserting that the English Acts of Uniformity were in force in the province. The minister was acquitted, and the principle of religious liberty was sanctioned, though it is doubtful if he ever regained his parsonage.

Thus, in the midst of much admirable earnestness on the part of the clergy and laity, and occasional unjust partisanship on the part of officials, the church grew. The tares and the wheat mingled in the administration of the province, but as a rule dignity and justice prevailed. With such typical and illustrious laymen as Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey and Sir William Johnson (famous for his labors in behalf of the Mohawks), with faithful and devoted missionaries and not less faithful and devoted lay catechists and school-teachers of the poor and despised negroes, and with such able and honorable men as the successive rectors of Trinity parish, the church deserved the success which it achieved.

Trinity Church had been enlarged during the rectorship of Mr. Vesey, in 1737. During the rectorship of Dr. Barclay (who had now received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Oxford University) the rapid growth of the parish made it necessary to erect a chapel of ease to accommodate the augmenting congregation. St. George's Chapel, subsidiary to the parish church, was built in Beekman Street, in the region known as the "Swamp," the present center of the leather-trade, and was opened for service July 1, 1752. It was a large church, with a lofty spire, and the opening service was a sort of civic festival. There was a procession from the City Hall to the chapel, in which the rector, assistant rector, churchwardens, and vestry were accompanied by the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and Common Council of the city, together with the clergy of the town and neighborhood, the Charity School and

ıster of the parish, and many prominent citizens.
rity School thus represented had been founded in
d was jointly supported by the Venerable Society
ity corporation. It was the forerunner, or the
g rather, of the present Trinity School, afterward
ndowed by the parish and by the legacies of
benevolent individuals, among whom, for their
l large benefactions, may be especially mentioned
xander Troup and Hon. John Chambers and wife.
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to give gratuitous education to poor children, and
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ch. In 1826 it was reorganized under the name
New York Protestant Episcopal Public School,"
ical instruction was added to its curriculum. In
eceived its present name of Trinity School.
same year with the opening of St. George's
he vestry took measures looking to the founding

ligion out of the Constitution of the College. When we discovered this design we thought ourselves indispensably obliged to interpose, and have had the countenance of many good men of all denominations, and in particular the ministers of the Foreign Protestant Churches in this city, who are appointed Governors of the College, and who, without the least hesitation, qualified agreeable to the Church and continue hearty friends of it." The society responded with a donation of five hundred pounds. The Assembly voted funds for the building of the college. Provision was made by a succession of lotteries for its support; and Dr. Johnson, the veteran missionary of Connecticut, was elected first president, and began the collegiate course of instruction alone, July 7, 1754, with a class of twelve students. The vestry immediately elected President Johnson an assistant minister of Trinity Church, with a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds, and with nominal duties, to aid him in his support. Although the college soon after became the recipient of gifts and legacies, its revenues are in large part derived from the property conveyed to it in that early day by Trinity parish.

It was about this time, in 1756–57, shortly after the opening of King's College under the presidency of Dr. Johnson, that Rev. Samuel Seabury, Jr., afterward the first Bishop of Connecticut as well as the first in America, was appointed to the parish of Jamaica, L. I. It was a position of difficulty, on account of the nature of the appointment. This was the parish where Lord Cornbury had seized the parsonage of the Presbyterian divine whom he had prosecuted for non-conformity, but who had been acquitted. The county vestry, in which dissenters were in the majority, from a long-cherished feeling of retaliation, on the decease of the incumbent, chose a dissenter for minister of the town, as they maintained the act

gave them a right to do. The governor, Sir Hurdy, refused to induct him, and after six months ed young Seabury to the cure. The father, Rev. Seabury, was living not far off, in Hempstead, and s son had spent his boyhood from the time when thirteen years of age. Knowing the ground, and his experienced father near by for consultation, he emed the most suitable person for the post. He l only a brief experience of little over two years in unswick, N. J., his first parish, but he proved an in- ble and at last a successful rector. He had to en- not only the opposition of the vestry and their us adherents, turbulent with the excitement of intment and repulse, but also the great laxity t in morals and manners, and the presence of re- indifferentism and even open infidelity, which he o the Quakers, who were very numerous in the

of the parish, was elected successor of Dr. Barclay as rector; and under his auspices St. Paul's Chapel was built, and opened for service the 30th of October, 1766. It stands to-day externally almost the same as it was on its completion, the only relic of old colonial New York now in use. When opened for service, Sir Henry Moore, representing the home government, was present. The building has since been associated with our most distinguished patriots: with Washington, who, after the service of his inauguration as first President of the Republic at the City Hall in Wall Street, attended by the whole company, walked to St. Paul's Chapel, and was there received by Bishop Provoost, who, with suitable religious services, invoked the blessing of God upon the first ruler of the nation; with General Richard Montgomery, who fell before Quebec December, 1775, and whose body was buried here in 1818, forty-three years after his death, Bishop Hobart reading the service; with General Lafayette, who here attended, in 1824, a sacred concert given in his honor. It is much to be regretted that the reverent care with which its fabric and traditions are now guarded by the present rector had not been exercised by his predecessors, who allowed the interior to be greatly altered. It is, however, still a fine specimen of the early colonial style of architecture.

Dr. Auchmuthy had won his preferment to the rectorship by most faithful service as an assistant. He had been especially assiduous in his care and instruction of the negroes, and he commanded the respect of all the congregation, white and black. He continued to serve the parish faithfully until the time of the Revolution. From 1765 he had as an assistant Rev. Charles Inglis, who afterward succeeded him as rector and became first Bishop of Nova Scotia. In 1766 Rev. Samuel Provoost was also made assistant minister; he afterward became rector of the parish

and first Bishop of New York. In 1774 Rev. Benjamin Moore, who succeeded Dr. Provoost later on, both as rector of Trinity Church and Bishop of New York, was made an assistant minister, Dr. Provoost having retired; as well as Rev. John Bowden, who, on the death of Bishop Seabury, in 1796, was chosen Bishop of Connecticut, which election he declined by reason of ill health. These clergy ministered in the three church edifices of the parish, Trinity, St. George's, and St. Paul's.

The mutterings of the coming Revolution began to be heard during Dr. Auchmuthy's administration, and the storm broke before his death. His death, indeed, is to be attributed to the troubles which the political turmoil brought upon him. Like his chief assistant, Mr. Inglis—in fact, like most of the Episcopal clergy of the city and neighborhood—he was an ardent loyalist. Dr. Provoost was the one conspicuous exception, and he, in 1770, retired from the parish and city on account of his patriotic convictions, which put him out of sympathy with his coadjutors. The rector and his other assistants kept on their way, subject to much obloquy by the patriots, but sustained by the countenance and sympathy of the loyalists, who, both at the beginning and during the continuance of the war, constituted a large proportion of the citizens. Theirs was the hardship of living in the midst of a civil war. It was a state of things wholly different from that which existed during the war with the Confederacy. In that conflict the great body of sympathizers on either side were massed together in special localities. It was virtually a war between North and South. But in the Revolution a man's foes were those of his own household. No city or county but diversities of opinion prevailed there. The outrages said to have been perpetrated on either hand were not unnatural in that heated time. They were the stern accompaniment of war,

which cannot be confined to the slaughter of the battle-field, but which involves personal opprobrium, private spoliation, individual indignity and loss. The future Bishop Seabury, who by this time had gone to Westchester, was suspected of unpatriotic acts, not without reason, and was seized and carried to New Haven and imprisoned. It is not strange that he should denounce such treatment as an outrage, but it is strange that such outrages should have been thought strange. The passions engendered of civil conflict are not careful of civic etiquette or of just dealing, either. The complaints of Inglis and other strenuous loyalist clergymen are natural, but not more natural than the conduct of which they complained. All honest men must honor the strict adherence to conscience and conviction of the clergy who advocated the royal cause. They thought the cause of independence was the cause of unrighteous rebellion. They firmly believed it could not succeed and did not deserve to. They acted accordingly and suffered accordingly. It was not to be expected, however, that patriots of convictions as undoubted, who took their lives in their hands to secure the liberties of themselves and their posterity, should coolly brook the machinations of men against the cause wherein their homes and their fortunes were imperiled. These were constrained to watch and guard against those enemies whose character carried weight, and whose means of influence were not inconsiderable. We always honor the sufferings of good men in a mistaken cause. It is impossible not to honor the steadfastness and unflinching pluck with which the colonial clergy of the Northern colonies stood for what they deemed the rights of their king and the obligation of their oath. But could they have seen more widely and thought more justly; could their sympathies have been with the people instead of with Parliament; could their inspiration have

rawn from the spirit of liberty instead of from the
f allegiance, they would have left a more helpful
e to the church of the coming nation. As it was,
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proclamation of the Declaration of Independence
d the embarrassment of the clergy, sufficiently em-
ed before. They must either mutilate the liturgy

and sick as was permitted him. When, after the battle of Long Island, General Howe returned to the city with his army, one of the churches was again opened. In the great conflagration which followed almost immediately, and which consumed nearly a third of the city, Trinity Church was destroyed, as well as two hundred houses from which the parish revenues were derived. The rector's residence, the two Charity School houses, the valuable library, and the parish register were all consumed. The loss amounted to over twenty-five thousand pounds. Dr. Auchmuthy returned to New York, and divine service was soon begun in the two chapels remaining to the parish, and was thereafter regularly maintained, as the royal army remained in occupation till the end of the war. The rector, already enfeebled, died shortly after the disasterous fire, in the spring of 1777. He was a good man, who fell on evil times. Dr. Inglis at once succeeded Dr. Auchmuthy in the rectorship. He was inducted into office by Tryon, the royal governor, amid the ruins of the parish church, placing his hand upon the crumbling walls. He had earlier made himself especially obnoxious to the "Sons of Liberty" by his pamphlet in answer to Thomas Paine's "Common Sense." He still continued a mark of patriotic scorn; for, on the occupation of the city by the royal forces, he had drawn up the petition to the king, praying his Majesty to pardon their temporary submission to the rebel forces, and to receive the city and community again under his gracious protection. We may remember as an excuse that Mr. Inglis was an Irishman by birth; but the knowledge of this fact did not increase his popularity at that time. By an irony of fate his property at Kingston on the Hudson was destroyed by British troops in 1777. In 1779 he was included in the Act of attainder, which banished his person and confiscated his estate. On the establishment of the new

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of the southern part of the State, and Mr. Moore's election was in consequence disregarded.

The Rev. Samuel Provoost was in great favor with the new vestry by reason of his patriotic sentiments, which had induced him to resign his post as assistant minister in 1770, and retire from the city. He was as ardent a patriot as Dr. Inglis was a loyalist; and soon after his becoming rector of Trinity he was made a regent of the University of the State of New York, and elected chaplain of the Continental Congress when that body, in 1785, removed from Trenton to New York.

This is, however, anticipating the history of the church subsequent to the Revolution. When that epoch-making war began, the church folk in the province of New York were estimated at about one fifteenth of the population. In addition to the strong mother-parish of Trinity Church, with its stately building and its two large chapels, St. George's and St. Paul's, there were also in the province the flourishing church of St. Peter's in Albany, and the small churches at Rye and Westchester on the mainland, at Hempstead and Jamaica on Long Island, and at Richmond on Staten Island. These constituted the formative root of the aftergrowth which we are to trace when once the Protestant Episcopal Church is formed out of the various groups of colonial churches; an ecclesiastical body, national in aim and extent.

CHAPTER VII.

E COLONIAL CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY.

is no trace of the church in New Jersey until it single province by the union of East and West der Queen Anne, in 1702. The territory had n, nearly forty years before, to Lord John Berke- r George Carteret by the Duke of York. When, in 1666, Carteret reached New York, he found rs had already taken up their residence at what izabeth, having been confirmed in their posses- Nicolls, the deputy governor of New York, in of the Duke of York's gift to the two courtiers.

in 1702. It was in this year that the two agents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Keith and Talbot, visited New Jersey, where, as yet, no Episcopal church existed.

Colonel Lewis Morris, in 1700, had addressed a memorial to the authorities at home "concerning the state of religion in the Jerseys." He stated that there were in Elizabethtown and Newark some few churchmen, and about twelve communicants all told in the provinces. An old ruinous court-house had been fitted up as a church at Perth Amboy, the capital city, where the Rev. Edward Puttock had officiated, as well as at other outlying places. He suggested measures for advancing the church; and the visit of Keith was in accordance with his wish. Keith preached first at Amboy in October, 1702, and then in many other of the ten towns of East Jersey, and especially in the town hall at Burlington in West Jersey. He created a great impression. The Quakers, whom he had left to take orders in the Church of England, were much incensed; but a number, who like him had become disaffected, gave him a hearty welcome and became adherents of the church.

There is trace of ministrations by Rev. Alexander Inness prior to Keith's coming, and occasional services had from time to time been held at Burlington by visiting clergy from New York and Philadelphia. But now the glow of enthusiasm was such that, aided by the encouragement and earnest sermons of Rev. Evan Evans, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and by the exhortations of Rev. John Talbot, who accompanied Keith, a beginning was made for a church building. Gifts came from Mr. Myles, rector of King's Chapel, Boston, from churchmen in Philadelphia, and from Mr. Robert Wheeler, a merchant of Burlington, and others; and the corner-stone of St. Mary's Church

Sunday of that year,
the holy sacrament in the church,
though services had been held in it fr
Keith preached there before Lord Cor
was issued by the governor, Lord Cor
to incorporate the parish under the na
honor of the Queen, October 4, 1704;
glect the charter was not passed until
when the name of St. Mary was subs
Mr. Talbot became rector of the parish.
table apostle to the churches in New Je
were so great, and his history so singular
that it is fitting some detailed account of hin

He first appears as a fellow-missionary
Keith, in his tour of observation through
behalf of the Venerable S. P. G. He wa
"Centurion," the ship which brought Kei
conversation with him and Colonel Lewis
of New Jersey, who was also a passenge
much interested in the projected mission
resolved to become Keith's companion ir
this time fifty-seven years of age, and rec
Gloucestershire, a parish in no way suited
energy and ability, containing only twen
hundred and twenty inhabitants. He was
birth, being the son of Th

left America, they journeyed together through ten of the colonial provinces. He would not leave the society's service when Keith returned to England, though he had offers of easier work and a larger stipend. When, after his acceptance of the rectorship of St. Mary's, Burlington, in 1705, his parish of Fetherne was sequestered on account of his non-residence, he became completely identified with the colonial clergy. His labors were incessant, and extended over a wide field. He had a restless temperament, which kept him awake to every call made upon his services. He traveled all over the province of New Jersey, building churches, and earnestly seeking for clergy to work them. His zeal often outran his discretion, for no sufficient supplies came; and several of the churches built in hope were deserted in despair.

The whole aspect of affairs early convinced Talbot of the indispensable necessity for a resident bishop, if the church was to extend itself or develop its real power. Within a year of his settlement at Burlington he journeyed to England as bearer of a memorial to the queen, praying for a suffragan bishop. The mission was, as all such missions were, fruitless; but this did not diminish Talbot's interest in a matter he felt to be so vital, and for twenty years he was instant in season and out of season, urging it. On his return in 1708, he preached in many places out of the province, as well as in it, and declares, "I am forced to turn itinerant again, for the care of all the churches from East to West Jersey is upon me; what is worst, I can't confirm any, even had I a deacon to help me." His earnest appeals for the establishment of the episcopate in America begot the suspicion that he was unfriendly to the government. It involved him in several serious and acrimonious disputes with Governor Hunter, of New York. He was accused of being a Jacobite; of "incor-

porating the Jacobites in the Jerseys under the name of a church, in order to sanctify his insolence and sedition to the government." The Venerable Society was warned by Governor Hunter, in 1715, that if it "did not take more care in the choice of its missionaries, instead of establishing religion, they would destroy all government and good manners."

Talbot indignantly denied all such charges. He vehemently declared to the Bishop of London that he "was a Williamite from the beginning," and prayed, "The Lord rebuke the evil spirit of lying and slander that is gone out against the church." His warden, Jeremiah Bass, who was secretary of the province, clerk of the council, and prothonotary of the Supreme Court, declared the governor's charge to be entirely false. His vestrymen warmly espoused his cause, and asserted that the accusation was "a very false and groundless scandal." Talbot himself, in his letter to the Venerable Society, spoke as follows: "I call God to witness I know no soul in the church of Burlington, nor in any other church I have planted, but is well affected to the Protestant Church of England and present government in the house of Hanover; therefore he that accused us all for Jacobites hath the greater sin." He survived these troubles, and continued in good relations with the Venerable Society, who, on his visit to England in 1720, applied the interest of Archbishop Tenison's legacy for an American bishopric (as the terms of the bequest allowed) to his maintenance while in England. He returned in the latter part of 1722, and continued his work at Burlington, and, though now seventy-seven years old, was full of zeal and delight in it.

It was during this visit to England that he is said to have sought and obtained consecration as bishop from the nonjurors. The question concerning this is one which has no practical bearing on the history of the church, as Talbot

never exercised the prerogative of a bishop, and carefully concealed the fact, if fact it was. It has been accepted as a fact by most writers on this period of the church's history. Bishop Wilberforce, Canon Anderson, Dr. Hawks, and Dr. Hills[1] assert it; but the monograph of Dr. Fulton on "The Nonjuring Bishops in America"[2] indicates that this was a mistake, arising from confounding John Talbot with another man of the same surname, whose baptismal name is not given in the register of consecration. The grounds for establishing the fact are chiefly the assertions of a violent enemy of Talbot, Rev. Mr. Urmston, who urges the accusation, amid many other aspersions of his character, as an evidence of his hypocrisy and perfidy; and also an episcopal seal, which Talbot is not known to have used, or even seen, but an impression of which his wife affixed to her will in 1730, on which seal were engraved a miter and the monogram of Talbot, or, as some decipher it, I. Talbot. This was three years after Talbot's own death.

The reasons adduced for rejecting this testimony of the vociferous Urmston and the silent signet-ring are:

First, the improbability of an old man seventy-seven years of age seeking consecration for himself in a sphere where great activity was needed.

Second, the gross inconsistency of a Williamite seeking consecration of the nonjurors, from whom he could not have obtained it without a dissimulation of his political sentiments, alien to Talbot's character.

Third, the incompleteness and confusion of the record of consecration given by Percival[3] and Satterbury,[4] in

[1] "History of the Church in Burlington," pp. 179–204, 211, 247.
[2] See Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," vol. i., p. 541.
[3] "Percival on the Apostolical Succession," pp. 132–134, Am. ed.
[4] "History of the Non-jurors," p. 364. References given by Dr. Fulton from Dr. Hills.

neither of which accounts does the surname John appear, but only Talbot, and wherein the dates are inaccurate, the consecration of —— Talbot being ascribed to the year 1723–24, as performed by Ralph Taylor (who died in 1722), together with Robert Hilton. John Talbot had returned to America in the latter part of 1722. Either the date given by Percival is inaccurate, or John Talbot could not have been the person consecrated. Percival's references for his data are partly to "some curious printed documents in my own possession," and to information derived from "the clergymen who were still living in 1839." The contemporaneous record of Dr. Rawlinson, since found in the Bodleian Library, omits the date, also the Christian name of Talbot, and changes Hilton's name from Robert to Ric; it is therefore incomplete and inconclusive.

Fourth, to have secured a nonjuror consecration would have frustrated Talbot's chosen plan. It would either have split the colonial churches into two contending factions, while Talbot earnestly labored for their unity; or, if the churches had all gone in one way, it would have separated them from the Church of England, whose authority Talbot was especially anxious to preserve. He, at the very time of the accusation by Urmston, was securing a glebe and parsonage to his successors, on condition that each of them should be "presbyter of the Church of England, as by law *now* established"; and "conforming to and complying with the rubrics and canons of the Church of England as aforesaid."

Fifth, the testimony of Rev. Mr. Urmston that Talbot claimed a nonjuror consecration is open to great suspicion. Urmston bore a disreputable character in North Carolina, in Maryland, and in Philadelphia, where for a while he served at Christ Church. He was dismissed from Christ

Church by the vestry for "conduct not proper to be mentioned or allowed in any sober society." Talbot was mixed up with these proceedings, and supplied Christ Church for a few months after Urmston's dismission. Hence the drunken wrath which raged without bounds, and which culminated in the accusation of Talbot's claim to be a bishop. It is from Urmston that Henderson and Governor Hunter received and repeated the slander. The one circumstantial statement that Talbot "convened all the clergy to meet, put on his robes, and demanded episcopal obedience from them," is refuted by Governor Keith, who declared in a letter in 1724 that "the clergymen accused of claiming the authority and office of bishop do not own to any such pretension." Urmston did not pretend to be an eye-witness of the transaction, and there is no other witness.

Sixth, the existence of a ring in the possession of Mrs. Talbot, engraved with a miter and a monogram of the family name Talbot, never used by John Talbot, and possibly a present from Bishop Talbot, of Durham, is too slight evidence to confirm so untrustworthy and inimical an accusation as that of the disreputable Urmston.

It has seemed best to dwell on this personal incident thus fully, using the material so elaborately compiled and combined by Dr. Fulton, because of its bearing on the character of a devoted man, and its influence on his fortunes. His accuser carried his malignity across the sea, and denounced Talbot to the Bishop of London and the Venerable Society. His own worthless character was not known to these, and Talbot was personally unknown to the new Bishop of London and the new board of managers of the S. P. G. The result was that Talbot was virtually dismissed from the roll of the society's missionaries, the payment of his salary being suspended "until he could

self of the facts laid to his charge." The facts,
which the Venerable Society adduced were not
ge of episcopal consecration by the nonjurors, of
notice was taken, but that "he would never take
to the king, and never prayed for him by name
urgy." As this action of the Venerable Society
taken on the complaint of the Bishop of London,
rote him a letter, in which these sentences oc-
understand that I have been discharged from the
r exercising acts of jurisdiction over my brethren
onaries. This is very strange to me, for I know
about it, nor anybody else in all the world. I
prove it by a thousand witnesses. . . . I have
great wrong for no offense or fault that I know
ng dismissed from his position in the society, he
tempted to create a schism, nor to set up a claim
scopate, which, had he possessed the right to it,
w the time to assert. "Weary and old with ser-

brethren." "The care of all the churches" was upon him; and walking among them in the sincerity and devotion of a man who took up the labors of a missionary when fifty-seven years old, and continued unwearying in them until past eighty years of age, he was in the province "a living epistle, known and read of all men." His memory has always been cherished in New Jersey with abundant honor. He was the fostering father of the infant Church in that province, and to him more than to any one else is due the strong root from which has grown so goodly a tree. His body was buried within St. Mary's Church, which he built, and which he had served nearly twenty-five years. One hundred and fifty-one years afterward, in 1878, a mural tablet was erected there to his memory, crowned with an enlarged facsimile of the famous seal; and in the inscription stand the words, "A Bishop by Non-juror Consecration, 1722." The legend is thus perpetuated in the letter engraved in stone; but his more enduring memorial survives in the apostolic spirit which inspired him, and to which the effect of his labors bear continuous witness still.

In the same year (1705) in which Talbot became rector of St. Mary's at Burlington, the Rev. John Brooke was sent as missionary by the Venerable Society, and was placed by Lord Cornbury at Elizabethtown. His was a short but efficient ministry. He died in 1707. Yet, during his life in New Jersey, he not only ministered at Elizabethtown, but also at seven other stations fifty miles apart. He is said to have possessed in an unusual degree the faculty of arousing the people to a sense of their duty toward God, himself being earnest, zealous, and self-sacrificing. He had the courage of his convictions, too, and assisted the escape of Rev. Mr. Thoroughgood Moor, who, while at Burlington, was silenced by Lord Cornbury, and imprisoned in

...ected in 1709 by Rev
who continued his labors at Elizabeth
other parishes for thirty-eight years.
admirable and interesting man, and his
were marked by great solemnity and
cially in the administration of the holy
eloquent in public and engaging in priv
made an indelible impression on the ea
New Jersey, which province was espec
the character and gifts of its early missi

This fact is signally illustrated by Dr
cessor, Rev. Thomas Bradley Chandler.
scendant of Colonel John Chandler, of
and was born in what is now Woodstock,
He was graduated at Yale College in
studied under Dr. Johnson at Stratford.
of age to be ordained he was, in 1747, call
of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, as c
reader; and permission was asked of the V
that he might be permitted to receive ho
proper time. He was ordained by the Bi
in 1751. He at once returned and entere
as rector of St. John's, and, extending his
bridge, was soon made missionary at bo
own request.

Judging from his ...

political and ecclesiastical contention, to savor of indifference. He had seen the church gain rapidly in times of controversy; and he feared that the charity toward dissenters, which granted there was but little difference between the church and themselves, might generate the opinion that there was no material advantage in conforming to the church. Yet there was no man more capable of taking a broad-minded view of both sides of a question. He was, by reason of his well-balanced intellect and character, deservedly one of the foremost men of the American clergy. His "Appeal to the Public," and "Defense" of it (the result of the controversy concerning the appointment of bishops for America) gave him justly great prominence as a polemical divine, while it showed the sedateness of his character and convictions. Unhappily the dread of political bishops could not be dissipated by a reasonable appeal for a spiritual episcopate. But Dr. Chandler gave a clear and dispassionate statement of what the colonial churches desired; and doubtless to this so famous pamphlet, and the controversy stirred by it, is in great measure to be ascribed the sudden cessation of opposition to an American episcopate, when once the success of the Revolution had dissevered absolutely the church from the state. He was not simply a scholar and thinker. He was untiring in his zeal in missionary labors, the effects of which were both great and permanent. He stood firmly against the unseemly and unbalanced enthusiasm roused by Whitefield in his visits to New Jersey, for he was convinced of the unhealthiness of such unrestrained excitement, and was much repelled by Whitefield's disregard of the church, whose claims were to him paramount. He refused his pulpit to the popular preacher, to the great umbrage of the religious public, being the first to do so in the region of the Middle Colonies. Yet, after noting that

Whitefield had been received on his second, as on his first, visit to Philadelphia in the churches there, he remarks: "Some years ago very few dissenters were to be seen in church on any occasion; but now they sometimes crowd thither in such numbers as to be more numerous than our own people that are present."

When the Revolution approached, his position was characteristic of him. He disapproved the measures of Parliament which provoked the animosity of his countrymen; but he could not countenance an appeal to arms to resist them. He was out of favor with both parties, yet by the nobility of his character commanded the respect of each. He did what he could by his pen and his tongue to avert the rupture. When it became inevitable, he returned to England. There he stayed ten years, from 1775 to 1785, living in intimate relations with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other dignitaries of the church, and many distinguished persons. While abroad he was offered the bishopric of Nova Scotia, which his health compelled him to decline. In 1783, the war being ended, his old church, St. John's, at Elizabethtown, asked him to come back and resume his duties as rector; and when he returned, in 1785, though his health was insufficient for the discharge of a rector's duties, the vestry insisted on his retaining the office as long as he lived. Though he never attempted any public service after his return, he exerted a marked influence by the weight of his counsels on the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Chandler and Talbot are the two names most conspicuous in the annals of the colonial church in New Jersey; but the province was also well served by other faithful men. The names of Holbrook and Harwood and Weyman, of Campbell and Odell and Hardin, are names which tell of faithful and well-directed labor for the church's sake. By

them and others like them the church grew and spread, so that in 1770 Chandler states that there were "eleven missionaries in the district, none blamable, some eminently useful"; and of the church buildings: "we have now several that make a handsome appearance, particularly at Burlington, Shrewsbury, New Brunswick, and Newark, and all the rest are in good repair; and the congregations in general appear as much improved as the churches they assemble in." The name of Rev. Thomas Thompson may well close the list. He was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who, after five years of devoted labor as a missionary in Monmouth County, left America in 1751 to become a missionary to Africa. His labors on the coast of Guinea are recorded in his account of his two missionary voyages to Africa, which constitutes the first contribution from America to the literature of foreign missions.

The province of New Jersey was a special scene of warfare during the Revolution. The effects on the church were, of course, most disastrous. The missionaries were loyalists; and the churches, after the Declaration of Independence, were closed, because the clergy could not read the full liturgy, and would not read a mutilated one. Yet so prominent had become the church in the province that it was in New Brunswick that the first meeting of clergy was held which led to the movement for the consolidation of the colonial churches into a national Episcopal Church.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE.

THE celebrated William Penn, both courtier and Quaker, was sole proprietor of Pennsylvania and Delaware. His friendly relations with the royal court and his steadfast adherence to the cause of the Quakers account both for his possession of the territory and the character of its colonization. In 1681 the territory had been granted him by the crown in discharge of a debt of sixteen thousand pounds due to his father, Admiral Penn. The charter fixing the boundaries of Pennsylvania was in some respects sufficiently indefinite to warrant Penn in claiming the lands on the Delaware which had been settled by the Dutch and Swedes; which claim was conceded by the Duke of York in 1682. This gave him possession of the waters and shores of the river and bay of Delaware to the ocean.

While a student at Oxford, Penn was greatly impressed by the preaching of a Quaker minister, Thomas Loe. In consequence of his neglect of the regular worship in the college chapel, he was expelled from the university, and was ordered abroad into gay society by his father. On his return, again meeting with Loe, his religious nature was stirred anew, and he embraced the religious ideas of the Quakers, about 1667, with an ardor and enthusiasm which from that time never flagged. He aided the emigration of a large number of Friends to West Jersey, of

which he had become possessed with other Quakers, in 1677; and when he received the crown grant of Pennsylvania he conceived a plan of colonization on a far larger scale, incited by the desire to provide a place of refuge for his persecuted brethren.

Two emigrant ships were sent out in the autumn of 1681, with William Markham as deputy governor; and in August, 1682, Penn himself followed with a large body of Quaker colonists. He arrived in October, just after the site of Philadelphia had been chosen. The future city was at once laid out in that rectangular style so characteristic of it, and before Penn's return to England, in 1684, had three hundred and thirty-seven houses, many of them three stories high. No colony ever grew more rapidly in numbers, with the possible exception of Massachusetts. Penn spared no exertions to advance its interests and well-being. His address to the province in the beginning ceded the right of self-government to the people, and came nearer the realization of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" than any other colony of that day. The first Assembly, which met at Chester, guaranteed religious freedom. The Indians were propitiated and made allies by kindness and justice. The benevolent spirit of the proprietor was reflected in the laws and diffused through the institutions of the settlement.

In 1683 the Mennonites, under the leadership of Pastorius, settled Germantown. In the same year a school was established, where moderate fees only were paid. In 1685 the first printing-press in the Middle Colonies was set up in Philadelphia by William Bradford. In that same year, the fourth since the settlement, there were over seven thousand inhabitants, the English constituting rather more than half. There was no religious dissatisfaction or wrangling. The Swedish Lutherans, the Dutch Calvinists, and the German

s all flourished, unmolested, together with the pre-
ating Quakers. The city of Philadelphia grew
In 1698 it was said to contain many stately
of brick, together with fine courts and squares.
were two markets a week, and there was frequent
urse on the water between the principal market-
Chester and the rest. It was a prosperous and
astic colony.

such surroundings the church was introduced not
than 1694–95. The charter granted to Penn by the
contained a clause that "on the petition of twenty
, a preacher or preachers might be sent out for
nstruction by the Bishop of London, and should
nitted to reside in the province without any deniall
estation whatever." The exact date of the intro-
of Episcopal services cannot be ascertained. It

Christ Church, was erected in 1695, "a very poor church," according to Gabriel Thomas, who gives the date of its erection; and a petition for a clergyman was sent to the Bishop of London, signed by several hundred persons. Before one came, the Rev. Richard Sewall, of Maryland, held occasional services, to which he was invited by Mr. Arrowsmith, a schoolmaster to Governor Nicholson, who speaks of "a full congregation and some very desirous to receive the sacrament." There was thus a nucleus of churchmen formed when the Rev. Thomas Clayton came, in 1698, as the first regular incumbent of Philadelphia, by whom appointed is not clear. His somewhat intemperate zeal caused his Maryland brethren to remonstrate, and he withdrew. He seems to have had considerable sucaess; for the Rev. Edward Porlock, of New Jersey, who officitced at times after Clayton's departure, wrote to the Archhobisp of Canterbury, in 1700, that the church community numbered more than five hundred souls in and about the city.

There was naturally a strong feeling among the Society of Friends against the introduction of the church. It not only seemed fitted to foment their own dissensions at the time, but they could not, for all Penn's intimacy with the king, get rid of their general distrust of the ecclesiastical body from which they had suffered persecution in England. Their opposition was, however, short-lived. In the latter part of 1701 the Venerable Society sent out its first missionary to Philadelphia in the person of the Rev. Evan Evans, who remained in charge of Christ Church for eighteen years. He was an admirable man, full of zeal for his church, and full of love for souls; an apt choice for the time and place. His earnestness prompted him to undertake great labors, not only in Philadelphia, but in the surrounding districts as well. He introduced church services at Chester, Chichester, Concord, Montgomery,

Radnor, Oxford, and Perkiomen, places ranging from ten to twenty-five miles distant from the city. All these places he visited often, and some regularly. In Christ Church he preached constantly, and also delivered two lectures, one a monthly lecture preparatory to the holy communion, the other a weekly Sunday-evening lecture to a society of young men with whom he read the Scriptures and sang psalms. He thus gathered about him many earnest adherents among the young, so that before the coming of Keith and Talbot, in 1702, he is said to have baptized more than five hundred adults and children of Quaker families; and before his visit to England, in 1707, the number had increased to over eight hundred. He had the assistance of a deacon, Rev. John Thomas, who also officiated at Trinity Church, Oxford.

The church's growth in other places was not inconsiderable. Rev. Henry Nichols, who ministered at Chester, computes that half the inhabitants of that place in 1704 were churchmen. Political dissensions of a local character disturbed at times the peaceable relations of the churches, but they were neither very deep nor very lasting. A certain Colonel Quarry, formerly governor of South Carolina, but now an admiralty judge in New York and Pennsylvania, a leading churchman, was a bitter opponent of the plans and policy of Penn, and spared no pains to secure, through Lord Cornbury, the overthrow of the proprietary government, and to advance the interests of the church and crown. But Cornbury, notwithstanding his aggressive churchmanship in New York, mindful of Penn's cordial relations with the royal court, turned rather a cold shoulder to Quarry's proposals, and was reported as "much averse to the warmth of those who go by the name of the church here." Penn, with not unnatural rigor, denounced the turbulent churchmen who sought the over-

throw of his colonial plans, called them "a rude and ungrateful gang," and announced that any who should invade the authority of his laws should "feel the smart of them." The commotion seems to have subsided by 1704.

When "Parson Evans," as he was usually called, visited England in 1707, his place was supplied by a Swedish clergyman, the Rev. Andrew Reedman; an incident which, like many other instances of interchange and good offices, shows the kindly relations of the two churches, which seemed to exist side by side, without any suspicion of each other's orders, to offer Episcopal ministrations to the community, the one in the English, the other in the Swedish language. Reedman had been sent over from Gothenburg in 1696 by King Charles XI. of Sweden and the Archbishop of Upsala to minister to the Swedish colonists. He died before Evans's return, in the service of Christ Church, in 1708, and was buried in Gloria Dei Church at Philadelphia.

Evans, while abroad, made a report of his labors in Pennsylvania to the Venerable Society, from which we learn that churches had been erected at Oxford, Chester, and New Castle,[1] as well as in Philadelphia; and the report ended with one of the many fruitless appeals for a resident American bishop as the most essential element of church progress. On his return home, in 1709, Evans brought with him the set of silver communion plate which Queen Anne had presented to the church the previous year, and which is still in use in Christ Church. The congregation soon outgrew the capacity of the church to hold them, and two new aisles were added in 1711. New gifts of communion-plate and a font were presented by Quarry, and in Philadelphia the church waxed stronger and stronger.

In the country districts matters did not progress so favor-

[1] New Castle was situated in that part of the territories of Pennsylvania now constituting the State of Delaware.

ny of the clergy removed to Maryland and Vir-
e the church was established and the livings were
e. The churches they left were closed, and
nes dwindled away. Other troubles came on.
Evans again visited England, in 1715, Rev.
illips, who for a while ministered in his place,
offense by his unworthy conduct that he was
to fight a duel. Though the governor sided
nd released him from jail, he was promptly dis-
the vestry, and Mr. Talbot, of Burlington, was
lace by the Bishop of London. The governor,
ied to silence Talbot, and brought against him
sympathy with the Stuarts and of disloyalty to
ment, which charges were distinctly repudiated
When the old and faithful rector, Evans (who
rn had taken charge of the missions of Radnor
l), finally retired into Maryland, after eighteen

of the best people by his scandalous conduct, and, being dismissed, Mr. Talbot was again put in charge. Then it was that, in revenge for his displacement, Urmston brought the charges of disloyalty and of a nonjuror consecration against Talbot, whom he regarded as the cause of his dismissal. As no appointment was made by the Bishop of London for more than six months, the vestry, in July, 1724, invited Rev. Dr. Richard Welton, formerly incumbent of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, London, who was visiting in the city, to take charge of the church. This he did with great acceptance for eighteen months, when, owing to rumors of his nonjuring consecration as bishop, and to reports of his refusal to pray for the king and royal family by name, he was commanded by the governor, upon his allegiance, to return to Great Britain forthwith. He had undoubtedly been consecrated bishop by the nonjurors in England, though it had not then transpired in Philadelphia, and so the vestry gave him a testimonial of his good conduct among them. Talbot's association with him, though they soon differed and broke off their correspondence, undoubtedly gave color, if it did not give rise, to Urmston's charge against him. Welton died at Lisbon, on his way home; and in September of the same year the Rev. Archibald Cummings was appointed by the new Bishop of London, Gibson, to the cure. He served, during a period of great prosperity for the parish, for fifteen years, until he died, in 1741.

The cause of the church outside the city continued to languish by reason of the destitution of ministers. The death of a missionary was frequently followed by the loss of a congregation to the church. Sir William Keith reported to the Bishop of London, about the time of Welton's coming, that there were "twelve or thirteen little edifices, called 'churches' or 'chapels,' erected by voluntary con-

ns, at times supplied by one or other of the poor
aries sent from the society to New Castle, Chester,
, and Sussex; whose character for life and conver-
nd a diligent application to their duty is, I believe,
ly approved of, and I cannot say but their behavior
elf and the magistracy has been all along very
and respectful." This was a set-off to his com-
against Christ Church, whose members had re-
him from the vestry on the ground of his "taking
im to overrule them, and entirely depriving them
reedom justly due." Christ Church, in the person
r Evans, repelled the governor's insinuation of dis-
as "a piece of injustice," and under the ministry
Cummings went on its way rejoicing.

n months after Cumming's arrival on April 27, 1727,
ner-stone of the present interesting edifice was laid
. Patrick Gordon, the governor of the province of

body from the State-house to attend the service of fasting and prayer set apart by themselves, July 20, 1775, on which occasion Rev. Jacob Duché, who had opened the first Continental Congress by prayer, September 4, 1774, preached the sermon from Psalm lxxx. The first General Convention, in which the original constitution of the church was framed, was held here September 27, 1785; also the second, June, 1786; also that of 1789, when, for the first time, the whole Protestant Episcopal Church was represented by all its bishops, including Samuel Seabury of the Scottish succession, and by clerical deputies from New England, including New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. In this Convention the Prayer-book was ratified, and the constitution was extended over all the dioceses, making the church one. In this church Dr. William White was elected Bishop of Pennsylvania by the Diocesan Convention, September 14, 1786. He had been baptized in the church in infancy, he had served seven years as assistant in the parish, and, having been elected rector in 1779, he held that position, as priest and bishop, until his death, in 1836, a period of fifty-seven years.[1]

Three distinguished signers of the Declaration of Independence were pewholders in Christ Church. Of these, the most distinguished, Benjamin Franklin, served several years as vestryman. Francis Hopkinson was rector's warden, and gave his services as organist for a time. Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution, and brother-in-law of Bishop White, constantly attended service here.

A month before the day of humiliation and prayer, at a service which the Continental Congress attended in a body, Rev. Dr. William Smith, one of the foremost clergymen of his day, and one of the most influential men in the forma-

[1] Perry, "History of the American Episcopal Church," vol. i., p. 605 (article "Christ Church," by Bishop Davies).

.... ordinations; and eleven bish
within its walls.

The church possesses a library
rian interest, which began to be
afterward enriched by Queen .
Rev. L. C. Spergell in 1728. B
reached the number of twelve
communion-plate is of much hi
distinguished donors of it. On
inscription, "Anna Regina in us
apud Philadelphinum, A.D. 1708."

To return now to the history o
stituted the chief part of the colo
vania. It was during Mr. Cumr
Whitefield thrice visited Philadelp
quently in Christ Church, exciting s
as elsewhere, as to compel a remo
occasion of his farewell discourse; t
to contain a fourth of the people wl
On his third visit to the city he w
Church, his course having given ris
meant not merely to awaken and
to rend it asunder or establish a
conservative course increased the
by accessions from those dissenters
the too

years. It was a period of great prosperity, during which St. Peter's Church was built as an enlargement of the parish, being proposed in 1754, begun in 1758, and finished and opened for worship in 1761. It formed an integral portion of Christ Church parish until 1832, when it was set off by itself, and was, until that time, ministered to by the rector and assistant clergy of the mother-church. Its first rector, when it became a distinct parish, was the Rev. Dr. William H. De Lancey, previously Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and afterward first Bishop of the new diocese of Western New York, to which he was elected in 1839. Its second rector was Dr. W. H. Odenheimer, who became Bishop of New Jersey in 1859. Its fourth rector, Dr. Thomas F. Davies, became Bishop of Michigan in 1889.

With the exception of Independence Hall, St. Peter's Church is the only building of the last century in Philadelphia which retains all its original features, interior as well as exterior. It was from the pulpit of St. Peter's that Bishop White preached his first sermon on his return from England after his consecration, and there also he preached his last sermon three weeks before his death.

During Dr. Jenny's rectorship of Christ Church, the College and Academy of Philadelphia, since developed into the University of Pennsylvania, was founded and opened in 1749, some five years before the opening of King's College, New York. Benjamin Franklin, a vestryman of Christ Church, was the chief mover in the matter, and had received Bishop Berkeley's suggestions regarding it. Three fourths of the trustees were members of the Church of England; and they, with Franklin, were strongly desirous of securing Dr. Johnson, of Stratford, Conn., as rector of the institution. Failing in this, Mr. David Martin, M.A., professor of Greek and Latin, acted as rector

for three years, when he died. It was in 1754, the year that Dr. Johnson became president of King's College, New York, that Rev. William Smith was "inducted Provost of the Academy and College of Philadelphia, and Professor of Natural History." He prepared a "Plan of Education," which has formed the basis of our American college system. Though the college was not exclusively a church institution, which Dr. Jenny did not approve, yet two thirds of the trustees were churchmen, and the provost soon became the most prominent figure in the Convention of clergy, and acquired a controlling influence in the management of church affairs.

Dr. Jenny was becoming old and infirm; but he had the invaluable services of two assistant ministers, whose terms of service overlapped each other, but were not coterminous. The Rev. William Sturgeon, a student of Yale College, who became assistant in 1747, worked with indefatigable zeal for nineteen years, not only for the parish, but also especially for the negroes of the city. A large measure of the success of the church in maintaining itself and enlarging its work is due to him. The Rev. Jacob Duché was added to the staff of clergy in 1759, and served through the terms of both Dr. Jenny and his successor, the Rev. Dr. Richard Peters, and with such success and ability that on the resignation of Dr. Peters, in 1775, he succeeded him as rector of the united churches.

It was during the incumbency of Dr. Peters that the united parishes received from Thomas and Richard Penn, the proprietaries of the province, a charter constituting the rector, churchwardens, and vestrymen of Christ Church and St. Peter's "a body politick and corporate." The charter, "signed by the Hon. John Penn, Esq., Lt.-Governor, and under the great seal" of the province, was formally received and accepted by the vestry June 28,

1765. The rectorship of Dr. Duché was short, by reason of the political troubles of the time. As we have seen, he opened the first Continental Congress with prayer, and preached before it on the day of national humiliation and fasting in Christ Church. After the vestry, at the time of the Declaration of Independence, requested the clergy to omit the prayers for the king, Dr. Duché requested leave to return to England to see and consult with the Bishop of London, and remove objections he might have to his conduct. His opinions suffered a decided change, at least in relation to the success of the Revolution, and he wrote a letter to Washington urging a cessation of hostilities. He never resumed his rectorship. He remained abroad until after Bishop White's consecration at Lambeth, which he attended. When he returned to America he continued to live in closest friendship with his former co-laborers, though he never assumed any charge.

His successor in the rectorship was the venerable William White, father of the American church, who, together with Rev. Thomas Coombe, had been elected assistant minister to Dr. Peters in 1772. Coombe resigned in 1777–78, being unable, after long reflection, to conscientiously renounce allegiance to the king. White had as clear a conviction of his duty to the Republic, and was as stanch in his patriotism as he was mild in his treatment of those who differed with him. He was unanimously elected rector in 1779, when Duché failed to return; and his acceptance of the position is truly characteristic of him. He asked that his letter of acceptance be put on record, in which he assured the vestry that "if ever, at their desire and that of the members of the churches in general, and with the permission of the civil authority, their former rector should return, he should esteem it his duty, and it would be his pleasure, to resign into his hands the charge

formation of the national chu
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church fared there.

In 1760 the first convocatio
Philadelphia. There were ten
others were unable to attend, s
in all.[2] The accounts of the m
Delaware stated, among other
mission (coterminous with Kent
churches, under the care of Rev
ward became rector of Trinity
that these churches were crowd
on the increase. At New Cast
of people," but at Chester ther
at Oxford the church was "in
Radnor was faithfully supplied.
at Lancaster, another at Bangor
last two of stone. There were
York, and Carlisle. Reading d
Easton was in similar need. Y
efforts made, did not include one
and in 1766 Dr. Peters, who wa
about twenty missions were vac
Paul's, had been added to the

1 Anderson. "Hist...

but it was the offspring of a schism from the mother-church in the following of the Rev. William MacClennachan, whom some desired for an assistant to Dr. Jenny, but whom the Bishop of London would not license for the post. St. Paul's was thus hardly an element of strength in the church life of the city. But stir and various signs of life appeared. When Whitefield came once more to the city, in 1763, he preached several times in the two churches, "without any of his usual censures of the clergy and with a greater moderation of sentiment." The College and Academy of Philadelphia was training able men for the ministry, with William White among them. The Society for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy was instituted, an effort for whose resuscitation after the Revolution started the movement for the consolidation of the church.

All along there had been frequent exchanges of pulpits and parishes by the clergy of the churches of England and Sweden; and when the Swedish language fell into disuse, the Swedish churches, as those of Trinity Church, Wilmington, Del., and what is now Gloria Dei Church of Philadelphia, became parts of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Among the names of the clergy who wrought with great faithfulness for the church in Pennsylvania, not only among the white settlers, but also for the negroes and Indians, and which should be ever held in grateful remembrance, are those of Crawford of Kent County, Beckett of Sussex, Neill of Oxford, Ross of Chester, and Barton of York and Cumberland. This last missionary reported in 1763–64: "The German Lutherans have frequently in their Coetus proposed a union with the Church of England;" and "a large and respectable congregation of Dutch Calvinists in Philadelphia have already drawn up a consti-

by which they oblige themselves to conform to the and constitutions of the National Church, and to Liturgy and forms, and none else, provided they oved of and received at Home, and that my Lord will grant ordination to such gentlemen as they esent to him." It is impossible, in view of such ny and of the gradual assimilation of the Swedish es, which the Venerable Society aided, not to lament por and blindness which denied the episcopate to a in her colonial period.

great extent, all that might have been achieved that had been gained was wiped out by the Revo- y War, during which, at one time, Rev. William was the only Episcopal clergyman in the State. e the Venerable Society had assisted in maintain- arious times forty-seven missionaries and planting four central stations.

time. It is still sacredly kept in repair, and to-day is the home of a regular congregation. About the middle of the eighteenth century much excellent missionary work was done here by Ross and Beckett, and what the Swedes sowed was reaped by the Episcopalians when, by the gradual disuse of the Swedish language, the Swedish churches and congregations became merged in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

THE name Carolina appears to
to the region which it designates, i
of France, by the French Hugu
Florida as early as 1562. The nar
ally given to the territory by Ch
honor of himself, when in 1629 he
Sir Robert Meath. No settlement
grant; and in 1663 Charles II. appo
eight lord proprietors, including am
Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarl
Cooper, afterward Earl of Shaftesbu
another charter, greatly enlarging t
settlements, the Albemarle and the Cl
Before the first charter, in 1663, a s
senters had migrated from Virginia t
which formed the nucleus of the Alb
which a governor, William Drummo
Sir William Berkeley, governor of V
lish colonists in 1665 came over from
Cape Fear River and formed the nucl
or southern, settlement; and their le
was appointed the governor. Free
guaranteed in these

It was in 1669 that the proprietors adopted "The Fundamental Constitution of Carolina," framed by the philosopher John Locke in conjunction with the proprietor Lord Shaftesbury, his intimate friend. It proved to be an impracticable system of government, with whose general features, as they were never carried out, this history is not concerned. Its religious features are interesting, as it contained, contrary to Locke's wishes, a provision for the establishment of the Church of England, the building of churches, and the maintenance, through acts of the Parliament, of its ministry. No one was to be molested or coerced on account of his religious opinions. Any seven persons might organize themselves into a church who should profess their belief in God and their obligations to worship him, and adopt a form of oath or affirmation to be used by witnesses in the courts. Thus, either by the charters of Charles II. or the constitution of Locke, the Church of England was "by law established."

The Clarendon Colony did not flourish; and after its disappearance there were two colonies, Albemarle on the north and the Ashley River Colony on the south, respectively North and South Carolina. The settlers at Albemarle were reinforced by emigrants from New England who were not churchmen; and the Quakers were in sufficient force, though not numerous, by 1672 to be visited by George Fox. A large number of fugitives from Virginia, who fled to escape punishment on the suppression of Bacon's rebellion, settled in Albemarle; and under Governors Stevens and Sothel the state of this mixed society was anarchical, owing to the unwise interference of the proprietors.

Amid the variety of religious beliefs and sects there was no effort made by those who were of the Church of England to tax themselves for her support. The settlers

generally were men of small means, and, while of great courage and energy, were indifferent to the outward observances of religion. Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) began to take notice of it, there was no stir of church life in the colony.

The southern settlement, on the Ashley River, began in 1670; and two years after, Charleston, named in honor of the king, was made the permanent site. The religious character of the settlers was very varied. Dutch emigrants arrived early from New York. Negro slaves were imported in 1671. English colonists came over, and a company of Scotch Irish in 1683. A large number of French Huguenots, fugitives from the persecution resulting from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, emigrated to the Cooper River in 1685. This Huguenot addition had subsequently a marked effect upon the church, and lived with it in great amity; but in its early stages it seemed to add a new element to the religious chaos. It was the object at first of a vexatious and oppressive jealousy; and its members made complaints to the proprietors that they were denied the rights of subjects and were treated as aliens. The authorities were ordered to remedy these complaints as early as 1693; but it was only in 1699 that an act was passed by the Assembly securing to the Huguenots the immunities and privileges they desired.

It was almost twenty years from the date of the first Carolina charter before any clergyman appeared in the province. There was no visible token that it was a Christian country. In 1680–81, however, a piece of land was granted in Charleston by private parties, Reginald Jackson and Millicent his wife, as a site for the erection of a building in which the services of the Church of England were to be celebrated by Atkin Williamson, cleric; and in the

following year a church of black cypress upon a brick foundation, large and stately, was built, and was called by the name of St. Philip. This first church of St. Philip stood on the site of the present St. Michael's. Williamson was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Marshall in 1696, and was later on pensioned by the Provincial Assembly, who gave him an annuity of thirty pounds.

Marshall proved an admirable man. He had been recommended by Bishop Compton, to whom Commissary Bray had introduced him, and by Burkitt, the New Testament commentator; and he did credit to their nomination. The Assembly, recognizing his value and desiring to perpetuate his services, passed an act in 1698 for the maintenance of a minister of the Church of England in Charleston. This was the first-fruits of the Act of Establishment granted thirty-five years before by the king's charter, and twenty-eight years after Locke's constitution had been published. The act appropriated to Marshall and his successors forever one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and directed that "a negro man and woman and four cows and calves be purchased for his use, and paid out of the public treasury." It ended by declaring that Marshall, "by his devout and exemplary life and good doctrine, had proved himself worthy of the high report made of him by the Bishop of London." His ministry was too short for the good of the church. He died in three years; and, before Bishop Compton could reply to the request of the governor and council to send them another minister like him, a clergyman, Edward Marston, was elected rector of St. Philip's by "about thirty of the chiefest inhabitants." He proved to be an unfortunate choice, and was ejected, after a few years of service, in 1705, by the governor and chief-justice. When the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) afterward objected to the law

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veritable thorn in the flesh to t
impossible to silence or suppress
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The Rev. Samuel Thomas, whc
as the first missionary of the Ven
pointed in Marston's place. He
had proved his worth and fidelity
ary during the three previous years.
for a mission to the Indians, he f
reason of their turbulent conditic
among them; so he settled at Goos
River district, and devoted himself
inhabitants, including many negro a
three years he wrought a visible ab
and profaneness, and was able to se
ance of the Lord's day, and introduc
and sacraments of the church and
home. On returning to England,
and Parliament showed their confi
empowering him to choose five mini
England, such as he should think
vacant parishes laid out by the gove
visit he was instrumental

attention he called to it, referred the matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and agreed to stop sending any ministers into the colony until satisfied that the obnoxious law was or would be rescinded. The House of Lo ds, also, in response to a petition presented in behalf of the inhabitants of Carolina by a Charleston merchant, Joseph Boone, declared the law contrary to the colonial charter. The queen also pronounced the offensive acts null and void, and they were repealed by the General Assembly in 1706.

Mr. Thomas returned to Carolina in 1706 and resumed his work, but died the same year, to the great loss of the church. The governor and council petitioned the society for more such men, and promised to protect and honor them and to enlarge their salaries. So great an impression can one good man make. Dr. Le Jean, who was appointed the successor of Thomas at Goose Creek, labored in his spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice for eleven years, until his death. He ministered diligently to the negroes amid much opposition, giving them systematic religious instruction, and persuading their reluctant masters to allow him to administer the sacrament to them. There were exceptional masters and mistresses who zealously seconded the efforts of Le Jean to evangelize their servants; but the owners generally were at first opposed to his instruction, under a vague apprehension that the christianizing of the negro by baptism would make him a free man. Wherever the instruction of the blacks was permitted, and especially where it was seconded by their owners, it was largely successful, so that in some congregations they furnished one half of the communicants.

The free Indians were also the objects of Le Jean's care; and in 1713 a Yammonsee prince was brought by the Rev. G. Johnston, of Charleston, to England to be edu-

joined, during which the missi
and many colonists massacred.
sion and civilization were contin
in 1717, the mission was left s
manent minister, until Richard I
the interrupted work, leaving at
two thousand pounds for the in
dren of his parish.

It was about this time, in 1
most of the proprietors of Caroli
of Parliament and vested in the
colony was divided into two
North and South Carolina, each
and council of the king's appoint
sion thirty-eight clergy had bee
parishes of the common colony;
and the Declaration of Indepen
came out to South Carolina alon
about twenty in all, had been for
after that established by Mr. T
among which were St. John's in
near Craven County; St. Thom
the Cooper River; and many oth
present State. Some of the clerg
ister to these parishes felt the

men as Robert Maule, conspicuous for his attention to the spiritual welfare of the French refugees, who from the first formed an important part of the colony, and many of whom conformed to the Church of England. The parish of St. James, Santee, was formed in 1706 expressly for their benefit; and during the sufferings from the Indian war, Philippe de Richebourg, the first minister, and his colleague, La Pierre, were both aided by the Venerable Society, though not employed by it.

The parish of St. Philip continued to be the only church in Charleston until 1751, when St. Michael's was formed, comprising all parts of the town south of the middle of Broad Street. The ministers in Charleston were more favored than those of the country parishes. Their congregations were steadier and the growth more regular. The unhealthiness of the rice-plantations drove many of the wealthy planters from the country to reside six months in the year in the town, so that often regular services were only maintained in the country churches from November till June.

Early in the eighteenth century Charleston had become a flourishing town, with a lucrative commerce and handsome houses, which were the homes of refined and intelligent families. It became a great mart of trade, and soon the seat of wealth and fashion. There was a marked division between the aristocrat and the tradesman, fostered by the institution of master and slave. The higher circles became distinguished for a certain elegance and polish, the result both of their domestic institutions (which gave rise to a comparatively leisure class) and of the commingling of the French element, with its grace and refinement, an element which was large and influential, and which softened the characteristics of the English race, which was here less predominant and formative than elsewhere. The

elements combined to form a cultivated, while
nd self-respecting community. In this community
cession of rectors was respectable and respected.
Ludlum at St. Philip's came Millechamp, Stone, and
n, the last of whom for twenty years, from 1752 to
arried on his ministry with the greatest energy and
The church was then a power and the center of
e in the colony.

office of Commissary of the Bishop of London
ly established; and Gideon Johnston was first ap-
to it in 1707. He was not naturally of a happy
ion, but he was distinguished for the energy with
he labored after the things which make for peace.
nistry was one of conciliation. He had been a
nan of high reputation in Ireland, and his prudence
cretion were a distinct benefit to the church in its
nd formative condition.

ling from the public treasury of the province, besides considerable perquisites; and there was also a grammar-school in the city, which was allowed from the same source sixty pounds, in addition to the thirty pounds given by the Venerable Society. Each of the other seven parishes of the county had one hundred pounds proclamation money from the provincial treasury. There were handsome and substantial churches in almost all of them, and comfortable parsonage houses of brick, together with glebe-lands of several hundred acres, being the gift of the government. St. James's at Goose Creek, founded by the first missionary, Rev. Samuel Thomas, was a very flourishing parish, as were also St. Andrew's and St. George's. All these seven churches were within a radius of twenty-five miles from the city. Most, if not all, of these parishes were served by missionaries from the Venerable Society.

The Church of St. Denis, in the parish of St. Thomas, consisted of a congregation of French refugees who had conformed to the Church of England. The Rev. John La Pierre, the clergyman, had the stipend from the Assembly, but was no missionary. In Craven County one of the two churches (St. James's, Santee) was likewise a church of French refugees who had conformed; and the minister was a convert from the Church of Rome. Being sixty miles from Charleston, and land, in consequence, being less valuable, the glebe consisted of a thousand acres. To King George's parish, in the same county, the General Assembly allowed one thousand pounds for the building of a church, to which Governor Nicholson, newly appointed, added one hundred pounds. These churches were respectively sixty and ninety miles from the city. Of the two parishes in Colleton County, St. Bartholomew's had been vacant since 1715, having been then depopulated by the Indian war; while St. Paul's, twenty miles from

h, had a brick church, which, being found too
s enlarged and beautified by the parishioners
s at a cost of one thousand pounds, to which the
added five hundred pounds currency, and to
. Whitemarsh, a parishioner, left a legacy of one
pounds. To the one parish of St. Helen's, in
County, which also had become depopulated in
n war, the Assembly gave one thousand pounds
overnor one hundred pounds for the building
urch. It is thus seen that in temporalities the
South Carolina, when Commissary Bull left it,
prosperous condition; and its religious condition
ut scandal, and, as even Wesley [1] testified later,
hy spiritual state.

der Garden, who had been rector of St. Philip's,
n, since 1719, was made commissary by Bishop
n 1726. His province included the Bahama

objections; but judgment was at last pronounced against him. Then there was another appeal to the lord commissioners at home, and after a year Whitefield was again summoned. He neither appeared nor sent an answer, and the decree of suspension from his office he neither noticed nor regarded. The whole affair must have seemed to him like a very small affray at a way-station, past which the express-train of his enthusiasm was rushing on the more momentous matters of spiritual life or death.

Not so to Commissary Garden, to whose legal mind the whole transaction involved the order and stability of his church. He suspended the ardent and erratic evangelist from his office, and published "Six Letters to the Rev. George Whitefield," criticising both his doctrinal and ecclesiastical positions. This most famous episode in Garden's life as commissary would give a wrong impression of him if it led one to infer that he was a mere ecclesiastical martinet, scrupulous as to the letter and unalive to the spirit of his office. He was himself earnest and devout in the work of the ministry, though not an enthusiast, as in those times men of Whitefield's temperament were called. For thirty-four years he was the faithful rector of St. Philip's, Charleston. He was greatly interested in religious education, and himself inaugurated and superintended a negro school of seventy pupils, besides bestowing much time and attention upon the free school, which long outlived him. This was done in the face of many difficulties, at a time when the government had not one institution for the fifty thousand negroes in the colony.

By his exemplary life and earnest ministrations he gained and retained a strong hold on the hearts of his people; and no commissary left a more lasting or useful influence on the church and community. The liberality of the church was so stimulated during his administration,

ntributions to churches and schools became so
us, that in 1759 the Venerable Society decided not
p the existing missions in the province as they be-
acant. In 1769, however, a special call was made
alf of the Protestant Palatines in South Carolina,
mmigrants were unable to support a minister. Their
ent was from fifty to seventy miles distant from any
nan already in the province. To this last and ex-
al appeal the society responded, sending the Rev.
ucius, who continued among the Palatines as the
's missionary until the end of the Revolution.

len resigned his position as commissary in 1749,
venty-three years' service; and four years later he
d the rectorship of St. Philip's, having held the
from 1719 until 1753, thirty-four years. He died
leston, to which he returned after a visit to England,
, in the seventy-first year of his age.

work with characteristic energy to restore the waste places. It was mainly by his advice that the church in South Carolina sent her delegates to the earliest General Convention held at Philadelphia for the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, as was most fitting, he was elected first bishop of the diocese of South Carolina in 1795.

Among the most distinguished and faithful missionaries in the colony was Rev. John Hodges, who came to Prince Frederick's parish from St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1736, literally starved out of that inhospitable province. For fifteen years he showed a zeal and devotion worthy of all praise, and ended his labors only with his life, in 1751. Mention also must be made of Rev. Thomas Russell, who for thirty-five years ministered to the parish of St. Thomas to such effect that a number of his parishioners, among whom Mr. Beresford and Mr. Harris were the most conspicuous, left large legacies to aid him in his parochial work in the care and education of the poor. In fact, nowhere in the land was there shown among the laity a more active and beneficent spirit than among the churchmen of South Carolina. In some parishes a chief planter would build a church or erect a parsonage or present the glebeland or provide an endowment. The clergy and the laity stood well together; and though the province was ravaged again and again by war, neither the church spirit nor the church property wholly disappeared amid the horror and turmoil of the Revolution.

During its earlier history and time of need the Venerable Society had assisted in maintaining fifty-four missionaries and establishing fifteen central stations in South Carolina. Unlike most colonies, this one outgrew, as we have seen, the necessity of much help, by reason of the generosity of the laity and the endowments by the gov-

Yet this happy result was the outcome of the earlier fostering care.

now turn to the northern settlement on the e, known after 1729 as North Carolina, we find eal history of the church begins with the labors nerable Society in its behalf. It is true that in Assembly took so much notice of the wants of ment as to pass an act constituting each of the ncts in Albemarle, and one in Bath, parishes, and g a select vestry in each. The vestry was em- to lay a tax, not exceeding five shillings a head, churches, buy glebes, and employ ministers, the the latter not to exceed thirty pounds in com- equal to sixteen pounds sterling. Under this act church was built, at what is now Edenton, and egun, but not finished, in Perquimans. Some books had been sent over by Dr. Bray the year

the watercourses, and through the forests and marshes by infrequent paths more easy to lose than to find. However, in 1708, Gordon and Adams were sent out as permanent missionaries, and to them were assigned the four parishes or districts laid out by the Assembly in 1701. They found a most illiterate people. Few even of the justices of the peace and vestrymen could read or write. With this ignorance was combined the opposition of the Indians; so that, after a year, Gordon returned to England, "unable to endure the distractions among the people, and other intolerable inconveniences in the colony." Adams served faithfully for three years, when he died, in 1710. He earned the character of "a pious and painfull pastor," who "had much conduced to promote the great end of his mission." He left more communicants in Currituck than could be found in most of the neighboring parishes of Virginia, where there had long been a settled ministry; but he declared in the last years of his life, "Nothing but my true concern for so many poor souls, and my duty to those good men who reposed this trust in me, could have induced me to stay in so disorderly and barbarous a place, where I have undergone a world of trouble and misery both in body and mind."

At this time there was no organized religious dissent in the colony, except the Quakers, who were reckoned by Adams to constitute one seventh of the population. A few Presbyterians at Pasquotank conformed to the church under Adams's ministrations, as did also a small colony of Huguenots from Virginia who settled in Bath. The rest of the population on both sides of Albemarle Sound and along the Pamlico River were nominal churchmen, ignorant and careless of both church principles and religious obligations. Until the Revolution of 1776, however, the people asserted through their legislature that the Church

nd was the church of North Carolina. They
the establishment of the church as part of the
machinery of civilization; but in no department
ork did the missionaries receive much help from
sts. These missionaries were, with one excep-
ful men; and the reports which reached the
England were uniformly satisfactory. They
o means equal to the task laid upon them; but
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and baptizing from five hundred to a thousand
year. The legal establishment of the church
elp them; it was rather a hindrance. The rev-
provided were never adequate to support the
r build the needed churches; while the tax im-
raise these revenues exasperated the opposition
ers. Still the leading men in North Carolina,
y the narrowness and ignorance which generally
zed the dissenters, regarded the church as an

journeying amid deep swamps and along broken roads through a wild and desert country, and finding themselves, at the distance of every twenty miles, upon the banks of some broad river which they could only cross by good boats and experienced watermen, neither of which aids were at their command; encountering in some of the plantations the violent opposition of various nonconformists, already settled there in preponderating numbers; receiving in others the promise of some small stipend from the vestry, which was called a 'hiring,' and, if paid at all, was paid in bills which could only be disposed of at an excessive discount; forced, therefore, to work hard with ax and hoe and spade to keep their families and themselves from starving, . . . it cannot be a matter of surprise that some of them should have sought once more the shelter and rest of their native land."[1]

Into this rough land and rougher living there came from time to time men of striking character; and the Venerable Society assisted in maintaining thirty-three missionaries in the province up to the time of the Revolution. Successive missionaries for many years had, in addition to other hardships, to encounter dangers arising from the incursions of the Indians. Efforts were, nevertheless, made to instruct and preach the gospel to the savages. The negroes, also, were as far as possible cared for.

After the death of Adams, Rainsford came out, in 1712, and, though he remained only a year in the province, interested himself greatly in the remains of the Chowan and other Indian tribes. The notorious Mr. Urmston, who later created so much disturbance at Philadelphia, in relation to Mr. Talbot and the so-called nonjuror bishops, had come out in 1711; but, while enduring many hardships, his career was of no service or credit to the church.

[1] Anderson, "Colonial Church," vol. iii., p. 489.

more harm to the church in North Carolina than
He was scurrilous, profane, intemperate, and
is. His appearance upon the stage of action is
events which mark and darken the records of
He, however, remained ten years.

the Assembly divided the country into nine par-
ead of five as before, and established salaries for
ers of each parish, not to exceed fifty pounds in
cy of the province. The vestries, however, took
pains to make the law of support operative, and
no clergymen to do the required service. The
ued in force until 1741, new parishes being
om time to time by the Assembly. When, in
v. Ebenezer Taylor came to Albemarle from
olina by the direction of the Venerable Society,
d the legal support of the act, and lived on the
offerings of the people. He was an old and

the people. In 1730, however, there was not one minister of the Church of England settled in North Carolina. The only ministrations were those of Rev. Mr. Jones, of Virginia, who officiated once a month at Bertie. An itinerant missionary was then appointed by the Venerable Society to travel through the whole country and officiate occasionally in every part of it. This was Mr. John Boyd, who was a graduate of the University of Glasgow, and had been a physician in Virginia. He went to London for orders, the first candidate from North Carolina, in 1732. Returning, he became the minister in the northwest parish of Bertie. He seems to have labored with assiduity, but died after five years' service, a missionary of the society to the last. Then the province was divided into two itinerant missions, to one of which was appointed Rev. J. Garzia, who had come from Virginia.

A new Vestry Act was passed by the Assembly in 1741. It differed from former acts in that it provided that the vestry should be chosen by the freeholders of the parish in an election to be held by the sheriff on Easter Monday of every alternate year beginning with 1742. Hitherto the vestries had been close corporations and self-perpetuating. The act of 1741 made the number of parishes seventeen. It gave power to the vestry to stop the stipend of a minister guilty of scandalous immorality. This act recognized and declared the right of performing the marriage service to lie in the clergy of the church, there being at that time no organized body of dissenters in the province, and no dissenting minister who claimed any ministerial authority to perform the marriage ceremony.

The clergy, at the time of the passage of this act, consisted only of Rev. Mr. Garzia, of St. Thomas's Church, Bath, who had been appointed itinerant missionary by the

Society in 1737, and the Rev. James Moir, who
come from South Carolina to St. James's
New Hanover. Mr. Moir was a diligent and de-
n, who officiated in the province until his death,
He is cited by Bishop Chester as an example of
lishment idea applied to the facts of American
fe. "He did not lack abilities or worth, but he
e time vexing himself and railing at his circum-
cause he could not make the Established sys-
. He held several important positions, as at
's, Wilmington, and St. Philip's, Brunswick, and
s, Edgecombe; and for a while he traveled and
extensively. He seems, however, to have ac-
d little or nothing, because he was fettered by
n under which he had been brought up."[1]
rent career was that of Rev. Clement Hall, who
ondon in 1743 for holy orders, the second native

twelve years he was the only clergyman for hundreds of miles of country. Though his labors were chiefly confined to Chowan County, they were extended at stated periods to three others. The distance and difficulties of his journeys in this rough country were very great; but he was cheered by the eager sympathy of the people. The chapels and court-houses were seldom large enough to contain half the numbers who flocked to hear him. He preached often beneath the trees of the forest, by the riverside, and by the sea. His health was delicate; but he was instant in season and out of season in his work. Eight years after the beginning of his ministry, in 1752, he gave this summary of his labors:

"I have now, through God's gracious assistance and blessing, been enabled . . . to journey about 14,000 miles, preach about 675 sermons, baptize about 5783 white children, 243 black children, 57 white adults, and 112 black adults—in all, 6195 persons; sometimes administering the Holy Sacrament of ye Lord's Supper to 2 or 300 communicants in one journey, besides churching of women, visiting the sick, etc. I have reason to believe that my health and constitution is much impair'd and broken by reason of my contin. Labours and also from the injurious treatment I have often recd. from the adversaries of our Church and Constitution; for w'ch I do and pray God to forgive them and turn their hearts."[1]

After this, in 1753, he reports that in thirty-five days he traveled 536 miles, officiated in 23 congregations, baptized 467 white and 21 black children and 2 white women. Where others found discouragement he found happiness and hope. His annual stipend from the society never exceeded the thirty pounds per annum with which he set out; and he must have supplied from his own resources

[1] "Digest of S. P. G. Records," third edition, p. 24.

e means needed for the prosecution of his work. in 1755, because of his failing strength, he was om the cares of an itinerant missionary, and was to St. Paul's parish, Edenton. No sooner there st his house, books, and most of his personal y fire. To supply this lack the Venerable ed him a grant of money and a new library for the mission. With courage unbroken, he per- to the end. It came in 1759, after a ministry ears. In the words of Canon Anderson, "At ion of four years after his appointment to St. n out with sickness and hard toil, Clement Hall he bosom of an affectionate and grateful peo- r of pious usefulness which has been rarely, if ed."[1]

missionary who deserves to be ranked with all was Rev. Alexander Stewart, who came to

the same year that Mr. Stewart came to Bath. He served nine chapels in Craven and Carteret counties, and he built the New Berne Academy. He was a loyalist, and disappeared at the time of the Revolution, leaving behind him the reputation of a man of honor and a faithful minister of God.

By 1754 Wilmington had grown to be the largest town in the province; and handsome churches had been begun both there and in Brunswick, though they were long in building, and were not finished until within a few years of the Revolution. These churches were served by a succession of worthy men: McDowell and Barnet and Mills and Christian. Clement Hall was succeeded in Edenton by Rev. Daniel Earl, who continued in charge through the War of the Revolution, and reported in 1775 that he had not received a shilling of his salary from his parish for near three years. Burgess became the minister of Edgecombe parish, Halifax; and his grandson in 1834 conveyed to the vestry of Calvary Church, Harborough, a lot which his grandfather had purchased at the laying out of the town.

When Governor Tryon began his administration there came a great increase of ecclesiastical activity through the stimulus of his own zeal for the church. He won the good will of dissenters by his generous appreciation of them, while he zealously promoted the interests of the church, all of whose ministers found in his house a bounteous hospitality and a hearty sympathy. He was recognized by the clergy as a ready and indefatigable friend. Owing to a disconnected series of acts by the Assembly between 1754 and 1764, the province was left without any legal vestries, much to the confusion of the ministers. In the latter year this was remedied by an act providing for the election of vestries and the support of the ministers, whose salaries were raised to a hundred and thirty-three

As the act still left the election of vestrymen to
olders of the parish, dissenters might be elected, and
ry remain inactive in parishes where the services
urch were not desired. The act, however, provided
ase an elected vestryman should refuse to qualify,
wn dissenter, he should be fined three pounds.
r these acts scarcely any contest took place be-
issenters and churchmen in regard to enforcing the
his peace and harmony was perhaps not so much
o the wisdom of the law as to the fact that each
of the province had been settled by a homogeneous
on.[1] The northern counties from Orange to the
l were chiefly English and favorable to the church.
vest the Presbyterians, the Lutherans, and the Dutch
d had each their settlements, but in separate and
communities. In such communities the vestrymen
performed their civil duties, but, as no Episcopal
was wanted, ignored their ecclesiastical functions

of educational institutions. The stipends furnished to parishes by the legislature being quite insufficient to support the clergy and build up church institutions, the vestries resorted to the selling of pews and to lotteries to finish the churches. But the laws, while inadequate to the support of the church, yet served to exasperate its opponents, and made the people lethargic in doing their part. For a time the church seemed to prosper, and it retained, down to the Revolution, a majority of the population of the province. At the beginning of that war there were only two Baptist associations in North Carolina; and while the Methodists were becoming numerous, as a body they were still loyal to the church. A number of young men of the province at this time entered the ministry.

Macartney and Burges and Johnstone, and Blinn and Jones, went over for orders, and returned and did good service. Of the last-mentioned, Edward Jones, it may be said that he suffered the loss of all things to undertake his holy calling. He sold his patrimony to pay the expenses of his journey to England, and, being stricken with illness on his arrival, became penniless in a strange land. He had to walk to London, and sell his clothes to buy food. Some irregularity being found in his papers by the bishop, he was plunged almost into insanity by his desperate condition. Fortunately he recalled the fact that Governor Tryon, whose letters he bore, had a sister living in London, and, finding her, he received her compassionate assistance, and was enabled to surmount his difficulties. His case is here quoted as an instance of the great obstacles which stood in the way of those who would serve the church in her ministry, and to point out once more the cause of the church's tardy growth, by reason of Parliament's refusal to grant her local bishops.

furnished neither bishop nor re
praise cannot be given to the Ve
long and so generously contribut
the missionaries whom it sent or

CHAPTER X.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN GEORGIA.

GEORGIA was the one American colony founded in benevolence. The unselfish philanthropy of James Edward Oglethorpe suggested and promoted it as a refuge for poor debtors, imprisoned, by the cruel and senseless laws of the time, for poverty, and wasting their lives idly in English jails. He put upon the seal of the colony the legend, "*Non sibi, sed aliis*," and it well described the character of the settlement. The purpose of the undertaking seemed to inspire with the spirit of philanthropy those who came to minister to it; and this colony, small as it was, became the seat of the most extensive philanthropic institution of the colonial church—the Bethesda Orphan House established and supported by Whitefield. Interest in the colony lies more in the agents of the Venerable Society than in what was permanently accomplished for the church. With it are associated the names of the great revivers of practical religion in the English Church in the eighteenth century—John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. Their efforts in Georgia were heroic. It seems strange that they should not have left a more permanent impression upon it.

The first settlement took place in November, 1732, when Oglethorpe himself, accompanied by a hundred and thirty persons, arrived at Charleston, S. C., and, proceeding to the Savannah River, selected the site and laid out

n of Savannah. He had served as an aide-de-camp
e Eugene, and assisted at the capture of Belgrade,
r his retirement from the army on inheriting the
estates had entered Parliament, in 1732. Being
airman of a committee on prison reform, his atten-
arrested, in the course of his visitation of the prison-
the multitude of poor debtors; and the sympathy
ed by their wretched condition resulted in the start-
his colonial enterprise for their relief. He organ-
oard of trustees, and obtained a grant from King
II. of the territory between the Savannah and Alta-
vers. The colony was to be distinct from South
a, which was quite willing to have a new settlement
ned as a barrier between her and the Spaniards
ians of Florida. Benevolent people of his own rank
ed with him to compound with the creditors, and
king's grant all things were made ready. Free-

received were appropriated to erecting a church building. Communion-plate and a surplice were supplied; so that Mr. Quincy was not wholly unprovided. He had not, however, the stamina of a pioneer missionary, and only stayed two years. There was much grumbling on his part, for which, doubtless, there was occasion enough in such a community. Before he left, John and Charles Wesley arrived. Dr. Burton, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was one of the Georgia trustees, and he commended the enthusiastic brothers to Oglethorpe. Their father, Rev. Samuel Wesley, who had given the pewter communion-plate to the first chaplain, was dead. But after consultation with brother and mother, and much reflection and prayer, the two determined to go to convert the Indians, as well as to minister to the poor white debtors. Could devoutness devoid of common sense have succeeded, their harvest had been abundant. Never was such consecration and such zeal. They set sail in October, 1735, and arrived in February of the following year. Charles stayed but four months. He was assigned to Fredrica, a small village on the island of St. Simon, intended as a bulwark against Spanish invasion. He went at once, and began his strict church discipline, administering strong meat to those to whom even the milk of the gospel was indigestible. He at once insisted on baptizing by immersion all children not physically unable to bear that form of the rite. Four times every day the drum beat to prayers; nor would the ardent idealist relax the discipline in the least for any expostulation. Such efforts proving fruitless, he left for England, convinced, doubtless, of the divineness of his method and the judicial blindness of the people who refused it.

John Wesley abode in Savannah. He began his ministry there on Quinquagesima Sunday, March 7, 1735;

a ministry! He neither spared himself nor his what his fiery zeal and iron constitution enabled ar was a burden too heavy for the issue of a rison. He had little time to give to the con- the Indians, as the bad lives of his countrymen both his time and his energies. To the Italians mont, who had been brought out to introduce e of silkworms, he also gave attention. A of Protestants who had been driven out of Salz- come over in 1734, bringing their minister with had settled at a little distance from the town, zer Creek, and also a company of pious Mora- had planted themselves with their pastor be- Germans and the city. Wesley was thus not piritual leader and guide. But his church prin- e at that time so narrow and high that he came ent collision with those who did not measure up

and singing praise; and about six the service of the Moravians began, at which I was glad to be present, not as a teacher, but a learner."

Thus was Wesley unsparing of himself. He was equally unsparing of others. He drew up rules for a stricter, holier course of life, which he called "Apostolic Institutions," because they were modeled on the primitive church. To these he expected his people to conform. The attraction, however, which asceticism almost always has at first soon vanished. The incessant attendance required by him at meetings and prayers and sermons tended inevitably to formalism and hypocrisy. He began to be suspected of being a papist at heart, on account of the penances and ascetic practices which he endeavored to enforce. Men declined so great a usurpation over their consciences. The fact is, Wesley had not yet come to that crisis in his life which he calls his "conversion," and which, whatever it is called, was assuredly the turning-point in his spiritual history, transforming him from a fearful servant into a confiding and rejoicing child of God. He had "received the spirit of bondage again to fear." He was to receive the spirit "of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

His sincerity cannot be doubted for a moment. But it was the sincerity of an anxious soul, which was toiling by painful steps and slow up to God to gain his favor; not the sincere service of a grateful soul kindled to loving devotion by the reception of God's gift of grace. The sacraments which he administered so punctiliously and so often were to him the badges of his allegiance to God, intensifying his responsibility, rather than the witnesses of God's allegiance to him in the impartation of his help and favor which they declared and confirmed. Hence his spirit was legal and his thought self-centered. When he set out he wrote in his journal: "The end is simply

save our souls; to live wholly to the glory of God."
looking to himself. When he learned to forget
n the service of the Master who gave himself for
n he became the man of power, who drew the
s crowd about him, who kindled a devotion to him-
h a century has not abated, and who awoke a move-
renovation and spiritual power which has quick-
life of English Christendom on both sides of the sea.
Vesley in America and Wesley in England were
erent beings. It was well for himself and the
at his stay in Georgia was short. The chief cause
turn was an intolerant interference with an indi-
oul which the commonest prudence should have
im not to touch. He had fallen in love with
f Causton, an agent of Oglethorpe, a man very
r by reason of his intolerance and overbearing
r. She, however, though a devoted spiritual dis-

of his niece in this manner. The whole prosecution was likely enough the outgrowth of his spite, and was designed to drive from the colony one who dared to oppose his will and proved an obstacle to the exercise of his tyranny.

Wesley sought to be tried on the charge of defamation, the only charge on which he allowed the jurisdiction of the secular court, but for three months met with delay after delay. He continued his labors, and even multiplied them. In Savannah and the surrounding settlements he held services in Italian, French, and German, as well as in English. Weekly eucharists, public catechisings, informal prayer-meetings, besides constant preachings, filled all his hours. But the whole colony was stirred with the scandal. Congregations dwindled; and at last, finding no prospect of action by the court, and no prospect of usefulness among the people, Wesley determined to leave. He let it be known that he should shortly depart; but he went quietly one evening, after reading the Evening Prayer, and, reaching Charleston, sailed for England December 22, 1737, having been in America a year and nine months.

The vessel which brought Wesley back to England passed another conveying Whitefield to Georgia. This distinguished evangelist had just been ordered deacon. He had known Wesley at Oxford while a servitor at Pembroke College, and had become thoroughly imbued with the religious enthusiasm of the Methodists. Out of gratitude and attachment to those who had awakened his spiritual nature he heeded the appeal of Wesley for helpers. His eloquence was already recognized in England; but, notwithstanding his rising popularity, he refused the offers of preferment pressed upon him, and sailed for Georgia, on the recommendation of the trustees and with the approval of Bishop Gibson and Archbishop Potter. He embarked the last of December, 1737, but did not

avannah until the beginning of May, 1738. He
eligious matters in a state of chaos, since the ser-
the church had been suspended by the removal
nworthy chaplain who had had charge of them to
Carolina. In much weakness of body he began his
tions with all Wesley's vigor, but with less rigor
oline. He did not insist on immersing infants, and
less austerity and more geniality in his intercourse
e people. His eloquence drew crowds about him,
many stood without the doors and under the
s to listen to his preaching. He lived in perfect
y with his flock, and was untiring in his ministra-
r them. He visited the sick every day, and estab-
several schools for the children. On Sundays he
ayers and expounded one of the lessons for the
ive in the morning. At ten and three o'clock he
ayers and preached. At seven in the evening he

no education at all. Upon seeing this . . . I thought I could not better show my regard to God and my country than by getting a house and land for these children, where they might learn to labor, read, and write, and at the same time be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." He at once began the nucleus of Bethesda College, and during the thirty subsequent years of his life, though "in journeyings often," he never forgot or neglected this institution. In all he collected eighty thousand dollars for it, of which he gave sixteen thousand dollars himself. The institution was located nine miles from Savannah.

Temporary shelter was provided for the orphans of the colony by Mr. Habersham, a lay reader and schoolmaster, while the permanent buildings were in course of construction; and free instruction was also offered to the children of the colonists who were not orphans. An infirmary was established, and the sick were cared for by an experienced surgeon without charge.

In the meantime Whitefield returned to England three months after his arrival in Georgia, and was ordained priest by the Bishop of Gloucester in January, 1739, in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, and appointed by the trustees of the colony rector of Christ Church parish, Savannah. He remained in England until August, preaching to thousands who flocked to hear him, either in the churches or, when these were denied him, on the moors and commons of Kingswood and Moorfields and Blackheath. Never was greater enthusiasm stirred by any man. A heart so humane and lips so eloquent compelled a homage which was intensified by a sense of personal obligation. If some of the clergy grew imbittered, hosts of the common people heard him gladly, and he stirred their hearts as the heart of one man. He was not, however, turned from his missionary labor by his marvelous

evangelistic success, nor was he as yet imbittered against the church. He was constant at prayers and sacraments. He gathered a thousand pounds for his orphanage, and obtained a grant of five hundred acres of land for it; and when he sailed in August for America he carried eight men as assistants with him. His practical benevolence grew but stronger in the heated atmosphere of religious enthusiasm. That atmosphere surrounded him everywhere and at all times.

On arriving in Philadelphia from England, the scenes of London were repeated in Christ Church; and in New York, where Trinity Church shut its doors to him, the meetings in the fields recalled those of Kensington Common. Such demands were made upon him for sermons that though he had landed in November, 1739, he only reached Savannah in January, 1740. At once he devoted himself anew to his beloved orphan house, making even the interests of the church in Savannah, to which he had been appointed rector, subordinate to it, though he at once resumed his ministrations in that place, and started to build a church for his parish. He returned north in a few months, and came back with lay assistants for various mechanical trades, with provisions and clothing for his orphans, and with five hundred pounds for the institution. He became from this time on more and more irregular in conducting the services of the church, admitting dissenters to its ministrations and curtailing the prayers. The fervor of his zeal could not brook the bounds of rubrical requirements, and he was inhibited by Commissary Garden, of South Carolina, which inhibition he failed to heed. The importance he placed on his view of the new birth, and the great effects which he wrought by preaching it, led him to denounce those who opposed or failed to advocate it, whether authors like Law and Archbishop Tillotson, or

the living clergy, of whatever rank, whose preaching fell short of his doctrinal standard. He fell off from his dear friend Wesley on the subject of Calvinism, and could hold no fellowship with an Arminian in theology, though in practical measures and methods they were so akin. He became more and more of an enthusiast of untempered zeal. It was impossible that one who, in spite of his aberrations, or perchance by reason of them, could do such great things could be confined to so small a sphere as the little colony of Georgia. His sense of power became the measure of his duty, and henceforth he was an itinerant, making frequent visits to England, where his old influence revived, and preaching also from time to time throughout the colonies of America, with a power as magical and effective as ever. But in all his wanderings he never lost sight of his beloved Bethesda College. He gathered money again and again in England for its needs during all the excitement of his evangelistic labors. From time to time he visited Georgia and devoted himself in person to the orphan school.

By 1742 the great dormitories, workshops, and storehouses at Bethesda were occupied and the "great house" nearly completed. The services of a Latin master were secured, and a foundation laid "in the name of our dear Jesus for an University in Georgia," to use Whitefield's own phrase. Thirty-nine boys and fifteen girls were supported there, and some had already been sent out to trades. The establishment had a strict discipline, and was somewhat overcharged with a religious atmosphere. An account of it by a visitor from Boston reads as follows:

"The bell rings in the morning at sunrise to wake the family. When the children arise they sing a short hymn and pray by themselves; then they go down and wash, and by the time they have done that the bell calls to

rship, when a portion of Scripture is read and
l, and a psalm sung, and the exercise begun and
h prayer. Then they breakfast, and afterward
o their trades, and the rest to their prayers and
At noon they all dine in the same room, and
ortable and wholesome diet provided. A hymn
efore and after dinner; then, in about half an
hool again, and between whiles find time enough
ion. A little after sunset the bell calls to public
, which is performed in the same manner as in
ng. After that they sup, and are attended to
e of their teachers, who then pray with them, as
do privately. On the Sabbath day they all
ld meat, provided the day before, that none may
om public worship, which is attended four times
ummer and three in winter. The children are
ng between whiles."[1]

After twenty-five years of varied fortune, Whitefield determined to enlarge the scope of his institution and make it in reality a university of Georgia. In 1764 he petitioned the governor and council for a grant of two thousand acres of land, in order to make "provision for the education of persons of superior rank, who thereby might be qualified to serve their king, their country, and their God, either in church or state"; and in his memorial he showed that he had already expended twelve thousand pounds on Bethesda. His friend and helper, James Habersham, was now president of the Upper House of Assembly, and by his influence the governor's indorsement was obtained. Though the necessity of reference to the home authorities entailed delay, the result was at last favorable.

In the last year of Whitefield's life, in 1770, the governor's council and the Assembly attended services at the chapel of the orphan house; and Whitefield preached, taking as his text Zechariah iv. 10: "For who hath despised the day of small things?" The Rev. Mr. Ellington, who had had a most successful ministry in Augusta, accepted the headship of the enlarged institution on Whitefield's declaring his intention of having "the stated worship of the seminary agreeable to the liturgy of the Church of England." The work prospered under him. The death of Whitefield, however, in the same year, greatly impeded the development he had so earnestly labored to secure. He left by will the orphan house and all his possessions in Georgia to his patroness, the Countess of Huntingdon, or, in case of her death previous to his own, to his friend Mr. Habersham, who was made his executor. Thus in death as in life he kept the institution near his heart. But the Revolution, which came on apace, wrought the ruin of his great enterprise. The inmates of

house were scattered, the revenue ceased, and
gs were destroyed during the war. Bethesda
vives only as a grateful memory and as a tribute
tical benevolence of one of the greatest preach-
e days of St. Bernard.

ngular fact that this humane man, whose heart
rmly for the orphans and the rising generation
should have favored the demands of the colo-
e repeal of the law forbidding the introduction
lavery. He parted from Wesley in applied as
theoretical Christianity. Instead of regarding
e his great prototype, as "the sum of all vil-
e maintained, from the Old Testament, that to
was lawful; that to introduce them into Georgia
g them within the reach of the means of grace,
them partakers of a liberty more precious than
e body. He did not hesitate, therefore, to use

offices in the colony. He went to Fredrica, which he found especially destitute of religious instruction, and where, for a short time, he showed an exemplary religious zeal. Unfortunately, the year after his arrival, he married an Indian woman, who, though a Christian, involved him in an Indian plot to seize the English possessions. He backed her claim to the lands on which Savannah was situated, and to enforce it appeared in full canonicals with her (she being costumed as an Indian princess) before the authorities. An Indian outbreak was the result, and the revolt was only terminated by the arrest and imprisonment of the recreant priest and his bride. He was dismissed from his post by the Venerable Society, which had appointed him; but the scandal of this perversion of his sacred office continued to work mischief in the religious affairs of the colony.

He was succeeded in 1746 by the Rev. Mr. Zouberbuhler, son of a Swiss pastor in South Carolina, who labored faithfully for twenty years. He reclaimed many to the church who had wandered from it, and after three years went to England for more laborers, stating to the Venerable Society that "there were about three thousand persons in Georgia, and no other minister of the Church of England in the province." It was not until 1750 that the church at Savannah, which was begun in 1740, was finished; and then, in a population of eight hundred, the number of communicants was only sixty-five. It was in this year, also, that the settlers built a small church at Augusta, under cover of the fort; and the Rev. Jonathan Copp, a graduate of Yale College, was appointed to the cure, which he served faithfully, in the face of many difficulties and dangers, until succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Frink in 1766. These two churches, a hundred and fifty miles apart, were the only two in Georgia in 1769, though

province had been divided by an act of As-
eight parishes, and an annual stipend of
pounds sterling allowed to the clergy officiat-
No leader had given effect to this enactment,
dition of the church in Georgia was weaker
other province of North America. The Rev.
ives this melancholy account of the settlers at

em in general to have but very little more
f a Saviour than the aboriginal natives. Many
poor people, both parents and children, in the
he province have no opportunity of being in-
the principles of Christianity, or even in the
od, any further than nature dictates."[1]
rink and Edward Ellington were the two most
l missionaries in Georgia, and no exertion on
as wanting to supply the spiritual destitution

had written to the Venerable Society, two years before, that "Whitefield had done more mischief in Georgia by the disorder and confusion which he had created than he could undo in three centuries, and made his orphan house a nest for the enemies of the church." Ellington was succeeded at Augusta by the Rev. J. Seymour, of whose labors there is little record, but whose sufferings and persistent efforts to continue his work during the Revolutionary War called forth the sympathy and admiration even of those whom he opposed. He was a stanch loyalist, and after suffering "the loss of all things," escaped to Florida, and ministered there until the Spaniards took possession in 1783.

The church in Georgia disappeared during the Revolution, having never made a strong impression in the colony, although the Venerable Society had assisted in maintaining thirteen missionaries within its borders, and among them the two Wesleys and Whitefield, who elsewhere wrought the most powerful evangelistic work of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE COLONIAL CHURCH AND ITS LESSONS.

counting the history of the formation of the
h out of the remains of the colonial churches
to recall certain features of the past, in order
the movement based upon it. The advan-
he church in the colonies enjoyed were all
the countenance and aid given it by the
ciety (S. P. G.). From the government of

land, who were glad to escape from their debts and difficulties at home, and whose friends were so happy to get rid of them that they aided in securing for them assured positions and salaries on the distant continent. Of course such men were a burden and not a benefit to the church's life and reputation. Their carelessness and the scandals to which they gave rise were powerful incentives to the growth of Methodism while that earnest body was still affiliated with the church. They united the Presbyterian and Baptist communions to the tenacious preservation of those principles and forms in which they had found the realities of a religious life; realities which the worldliness, to say the least, of these ecclesiastical adventurers failed either to exhibit in themselves or administer to others. The church was more numerous in the provinces where it was established, but its life was not as healthful or as stable as where it was deprived of all state aid. The sad experience of Maryland and Virginia, as contrasted with the much smaller church communities in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, shows most unmistakably the mischief which may come of political patronage in founding the church in new communities.

Another lesson of vital importance is shown in the history of the colonial churches. It is the crass folly of trying to propagate a system by mutilating it. The colonial churches were acephalous. No bishop could be had, or even borrowed for a season; and moral discipline and ecclesiastical order were without any efficient head. The incredible discomfort of a voyage to Europe in those days, and the enormous expense of it to men of moderate means, put a check upon the growth of a native clergy, which experience proved to be far more valuable than an imported ministry. A sea-voyage, with its dangers and dis-

hich was an imperative necessity for every
eacon seeking holy orders, was an impediment
ess of the church whose hindrance it is impos-
pute. The lack, too, in relation to the clergy,
etent or complete theological education was a
back to the church. The colleges of Harvard,
rinceton had been early founded to raise up a
gy for the Congregationalists and the Presby-
was not until within thirty years of the Revo-
King's College and the Academy and College
hia were started, where churchmen practically
ed; and the College of William and Mary in
guished on account of the Establishment, which
a shadow on everything pertaining to the
at colony. To graduate at Yale or Harvard
sify, perhaps, one's churchmanship by reason
but these colleges did not generate an at-

hundred pounds for the purchase of house and land for a bishop's residence in Burlington. The struggle, however, of the House of Hanover to establish itself against the House of Stuart absorbed at this time the attention and interest of the crown; and no consideration could be given to supplying a complete church order to distant colonists, many of whose clergy were suspected of favoring the cause of the Pretender. Thus, under Queen Anne and King George, these well-considered plans miscarried, as had the attempt in 1672, under Charles II., to send out as Bishop of Virginia the Rev. Dr. Alexander Murray, who had been a companion of the king in his exile. Such, also, had been the fate of the project of Dr. Sharpe, Archbishop of York in 1711, who, together with the Bishops of Bristol and St. David's, made a proposal to the Lower House of Convocation "concerning bishops to be provided for the plantations." The subject, however, did not cease to occupy the thought of the episcopate. Archbishop Tenison, at his death in 1715, bequeathed a thousand pounds to the Venerable Society "toward the settlement of two bishops, one for the continent and the other for the isles of America"; and in 1718 an unknown benefactor gave the society a thousand pounds for the same purpose, which sum was doubled shortly after by gifts from Mr. Dugald Campbell and Lady Elizabeth Hastings. Much later on, in 1750, a united and sustained effort was made to establish an American episcopate by Bishops Secker of Oxford, Sherlock of London, and Butler of Bristol; and as by that time much hostility had arisen in America on the part of the dissenting colonists against the project, Bishop Butler, the celebrated author of the "Analogy," prepared an explanation and statement of the scheme, to allay all possible misapprehension of it. The statement declared that, *first*, no coercive power over the laity was desired, but only

regulate the behavior of the clergy who were in orders; *second*, that no share in the temporal nt was desired for bishops; *third*, that the main- f the bishops was not to be at the charge of the *fourth*, that no bishops were to be settled where nment was in the hands of dissenters, as in New but that they should only have authority to l discipline the clergy of such Church of England ions as might be among them, and to confirm nembers thereof. It was, however, too late for scheme to be carried into effect. The opposition onists had by this time introduced a political ele- the question, and no prime minister could conceive nt to embroil his government with it.

terest awakened in the minds of the English s was not unshared by the colonial clergy. It r stimulated by their petitions and representa-

understood the necessities of the case she would allow a thousand pounds per annum rather than so many souls should suffer. Again, in 1716, he sent a most caustic complaint, in which he contrasted apostolic alertness with the government's delay, saying: "When the apostles heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, immediately they sent out two of the chiefs, Peter and John; . . . they did not stay for a secular design of salary. But we have been here these twenty years, calling till our hearts ache, and ye own 'tis the call and cause of God, and yet ye have not heard, or have not answered, and that's all one. There's a *nolo episcopari* only for poor America."

The call for the episcopate was not confined to the isolated cry of individual clergymen. In 1705 a memorial was addressed to the archbishops and bishops, from a convocation of fourteen clergymen at Burlington, N. J., praying for the presence and assistance of a suffragan bishop, and stating the urgent reasons therefor. Soon afterward Governor Nicholson, of Virginia, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury "that unless a bishop be sent, in a short time the Church of England will diminish rather than increase in North America." In fact, so much attention was called to the subject in England about this time that it became a topic of general conversation and a matter of banter to Dean Swift (we can scarcely deem it more), who writes to his friend, Colonel Hunter, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and became afterward governor of New York, that "he must hasten to get him his Virginia bishopric, or he will be compelled to go to Ireland with Addison." This widespread attention to the subject was not allowed to fade away out of sight. From all parts of the colonies the cry and call came constantly, as well as from New Jersey and Virginia.

Samuel Johnson, the distinguished missionary
icut, then but recently converted to the church,
subject upon the Bishop of London, in view of
hat a considerable number of young gentlemen,
t educated among us, for want of episcopal
decline the ministry, unwilling to expose them-
ne dangers of the seas and distempers; so that
n of all our misery is the want of a bishop, for
e are many thousands of souls in this country
iently long and pray." This private petition
ed up the next year by a memorial of six of the
and clergy to the Venerable Society, praying
odox and loyal bishop. One of the signers of
ial, the Rev. James Honeyman, of Rhode Island,
as well a personal communication to the Bishop
, stating many and grave reasons why the mat-
be attended to. The vestries and congregations

Middle Colonies. In reply to many hitherto fruitless applications, the Bishop of London empowered the clergy of Maryland to nominate one of their number for the office of suffragan; which they proceeded to do, naming the Rev. Mr. Colebatch, a man every way fit for the work. The legislature, however, interfered, and forbade the nominee to leave the province. The consecrated Clement Hall, of North Carolina, added his plea to the general voice. At last, in 1766, certain prominent clergy of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut (among whom were Dr. Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York; Dr. Chandler of Elizabethtown, N. J.; President Cooper of King's College, New York; Samuel Seabury, afterward first Bishop of Connecticut and the first in the United States; Dr. Inglis, later first Bishop of Nova Scotia; and the distingushed presbyter, Abraham Beach of Connecticut) formed a voluntary convocation to meet once a year "to use their joint influence and endeavors to obtain the happiness of bishops, and to support the church against the unreasonable opposition given to it in the colonies, and to cultivate and improve a good understanding and union with each other." This convocation addressed a letter to the Venerable Society, urging "as an incontestable argument for the necessity of American bishops" the fact "that not less than one out of five who have gone home for holy orders from the Northern Colonies have perished in the attempt."

This letter was followed in 1767 by Dr. Chandler's "Appeal to the Public in Favor of the Church of England in America," which, as we have already noted in the account of the colonial church in New Jersey, produced such widespread controversy. The subject had now passed beyond the limits of the church. The public papers were full of it. The press of Boston, New York, and Philadel-

with communications and invectives attacking in a most uncompromising manner. Answers s caustic as the attacks. Provost William e Academy and College of Philadelphia, and er of New Jersey, wrote in an able and digni-. The nature of the anonymous papers may rom their titles: "A Whip for the American Kick for the Whipper," and others like them. f such violent opposition is not far to seek. It hat alliance between church and state in Eng- nade bishops government officers. The dread ical tyranny backed by the strong arm of the r unreasonable in view of the statements made 's "Appeal," was the motive-power of the rather than dislike of episcopacy, though that enough. This even influenced the House of f Virginia, whose members were for the most

raised in America, for aught we can tell, may be as constitutionally applied toward the support of prelacy as of soldiers or pensioners."

John Adams testifies that "fear of the Church of England contributed as much as any other cause to arrest the attention not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of Parliament over the colonies." "The objection was not only to the office of a bishop, though that was dreaded, but to the authority of Parliament on which it must be founded. The reasoning was this: There is no power less than Parliament which can create bishops in America. But if Parliament can erect dioceses and appoint bishops, they may introduce the whole hierarchy, establish tithes, establish religion, forbid dissenters, make schism heresy, impose penalties extending to life and limb as well as to liberty and property." [1]

From 1766 to 1775 the non-Episcopal churches of New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania combined in "a plan of union" "for preserving their religious liberty," and met annually for that purpose. They believed that to suppress an American episcopate was one of the most indispensable steps for maintaining their own independence. From a letter appended to the records of this body we learn fully their sentiments and apprehensions. After alluding to the effort to obtain an American bishop, the communication proceeds as follows:

"Nor do we envy the Episcopal churches the privileges of a bishop for the purposes of ordination, confirmation, and inspecting the morals of their clergy, provided they have no kind of superiority over, nor power any way to affect the civil or religious interests of other denomina-

[1] See "Works of John Adams," especially vol. viii., p. 184, and vol. x., p. 185.

It is alleged that no other than the above-
derate episcopacy is desired or designed; yet
not be fixed by parliamentary authority, we
curity that matters will be carried no further.
emen acquainted with the law inform us that a
public minister of state, known in the common
gland. . . . Might he not plead . . . that the
w of England is his birthright, and that the
rce before the settling of the colonies were
ither and took place with the first settlers?
hinder him to claim all the powers exercised
shop Laud and his ecclesiastical courts? . . .
s, tyrannical, and domineering prelate, or his
would always have it in their power to harass
y, and make our lives bitter by fines, imprison-
lawless severity."

eeting of this Convention at Elizabethtown in
her letter was reported and approved which

nobility or proper courts to check the dangerous exertions of their authority; and where our governors and judges may be the needy dependents of a prime minister, and therefore afraid to disoblige a person who is sure to be supported by the whole bench of bishops in England: so that our civil liberties appear to us to be in immediate danger from such an establishment."

The sudden collapse of all such opposition after the Revolution had dissevered the colonies from the mother-land shows that the popular objection to the introduction of bishops was chiefly political. It bore none the less hardly on the church on that account. Had there been any wise prevision on the part of the governing powers in England, bishops would have been granted long before any organized remonstrance could have arisen. In certain colonies bishops would have been cordially welcomed; and these could have exercised sufficient spiritual jurisdiction from such centers as to have insured the growth and purity of the church at large. The predominant conception of the episcopate at that time was, however, largely Erastian. There was no proper apprehension of it as a missionary force. Men's thoughts concerning it could not be dissevered from the station and revenues which pertained to it in England, where bishops were spiritual lords, members of the Upper House, and in possession of large incomes derived from ancient endowments. A print of the period illustrates the popular conception. A crowd is depicted shoving from the wharf a ship with a bishop in robes clinging to the shrouds. A large episcopal coach is prominent on the dock, against which a miter and a crosier rest. The mob are exclaiming, "No lords, spiritual or temporal, in New England!" Friend and foe alike were possessed of the idea that the office involved the trappings of worldly state. All efforts to secure an American bishop

orts to secure for him an income of at least a unds, a large sum in those days. Such bishops ch has since possessed in Chase and Kemper gton Lee were quite beyond the conception of nen of that day.

he imperfect estimate of a bishop's office as a sionary, there arose another obstacle to the the colonial churches from the vague concep- wants and surroundings by the mother-coun- merica of that time was more distant than the a of this. It was, in the minds of men, wilder avage than Australia and New Zealand in the first colonization. It seemed incongruous to onists surrounded with negroes and Indians, was so rude, whose wants were so primitive, institutions of an old and advanced civilization. be happy if the Bishop of London noticed

Parts was founded in London in 1701. It was an outgrowth and extension of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of which Dr. Bray was also a chief promoter, which had its origin in 1699, and whose work in foreign parts had been "the fixing parochial libraries throughout the plantations (especially on the continent of North America)." After Dr. Bray's brief visit to Maryland as commissary, from which he returned in 1700, he made an appeal to the crown "to make such other provision as shall be necessary for the propagation of the gospel in those parts." The Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury appointed a committee early in 1701 to consider the same subject. Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton and many others favored the project; and the result was that on June 27, 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts held its first meeting at Lambeth Palace, the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding, with many other bishops and distinguished churchmen, clerical and lay, present. It is to the earnest, generous, and constant zeal of this society that the colonial churches were more indebted than to all other sources put together. What it did has in some manner been made apparent in the preceding chronicle of the different colonial churches. Its course was marked by wisdom from the beginning. It at once prepared for a preliminary survey of the field. It chose for this purpose one who knew the country and its needs, and who possessed, moreover, all the enthusiasm of a recent convert to the church.

The Rev. George Keith, the society's agent in this matter, was originally a Presbyterian, a fellow-student of Bishop Burnet at Aberdeen. He, after graduation, became a preacher among the Quakers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and after a dispute with the Society of Friends concerning the value of external as contrasted

revelation, became the leader of a schism. onformed to the church, and was sent as missionary of the S. P. G. "to traverse the ire into the spiritual condition of the people, n them to a sense of the importance and Christian religion." From the information im and his volunteer attendant, Rev. John society began the work of sending and issionaries. In 1741 Bishop Secker, after- hop, could speak thus of the results: "In y years, under many discouragements and me very disproportionate to the vastness of ing, a great deal hath been done. Near a ches have been built; above ten thousand Prayer-books, above a hundred thousand racts distributed; great multitudes, on the roes and Indians brought over to the Chris- any numerous congregations have been set

the results of the voluntary and the government effort is markedly in favor of the former.

Since its cessation of labors in the United States the Venerable Society has on three separate occasions shown its sympathy with the church it nurtured so long, by handsome gifts of money to the corporation of St. George the Martyr in New York, to Bishop Tuttle's mission to the Mormons in Salt Lake City, and to the church in Maine. In recognition of its invaluable services an alms-basin was presented by the American to the English church at the one hundred and seventy-first anniversary of the society, held in St. Paul's Cathedral, July 4, 1872. At the time of the first Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops throughout the World, in 1868, Bishop Littlejohn, of Long Island, at a missionary conference given by the society, gave utterance to the sentiments of all American hearts when he said:

"For nearly the whole of the eighteenth century this society furnished the only point of contact, the only bond of sympathy, between the Church of England and her children scattered over the waste places of the New World. . . . It is therefore with joy and gratitude that we, the representatives of the American church, greet the Venerable Society on this occasion as the first builder of our ecclesiastical foundations, and lay at her feet the golden sheaves of the harvest of her planting. . . . May God speed the work of this society in the future as in the past! The greatest, the most enduring, the most fruitful of all missionary organizations of Reformed Christendom, may it continue to be in the years to come, as in those which are gone, the workshop of churches, the treasury of needy souls all over the world!"

Again, in 1883, the General Convention acknowledged

lations of the society in a message of which
g words are an extract: "At the close of the
of our existence as a national church we ac-
vith deep and unfeigned gratitude that what-
rch has been in the past, is now, or will be in
largely due, under God, to the long-continued
and protection of the Venerable Society."

ividual influences upon the fortunes of the
rch in the American colonies, that of Bishop
undoubtedly the greatest and most beneficent.
n Newport, R. I., in January, 1729, and he
pursuance of a purpose to found in the west-
re a Christian university. He had fixed upon
Islands for this purpose, "as a spot favorable
, industry, and morals of the students, and at
e healthful and commodious for all the Eng-

became the associate and friend of Addison and Steele and Swift. He lived for four or five years upon the Continent, engaged in profound studies concerning the sociological conditions of Europe. These studies developed his views concerning the value of the new civilization in America. On his return from the Continent he had been made first Dean of Dromore, then Dean of Derry; and such was the recognition of his abilities and character that the highest ecclesiastical promotion was within his reach. Bishop Atterbury had said of him: "So much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels till I saw this gentleman." To one so gifted and prized, however, no prospect of personal promotion seemed in the least comparable with the opportunity to permanently better mankind. He earnestly set about enlisting the sympathy of his friends, and securing their gifts for his enterprise, so earnestly that Dean Swift wrote to Lord Carteret, "His heart will break if his deanery be not taken from him," and his project accomplished.

His earnestness was contagious, and he secured a number of voluntary contributions. Unfortunately he did not confine himself to these, by which in the end he might have secured the necessary endowment, but sought also a government appropriation. To the five thousand pounds which he had raised, Sir Robert Walpole, prime minister, added a personal subscription of two hundred, and gave a promise not to oppose the bill asking for an appropriation by the House of Commons. The charter of the college was granted, and the proceeds of the sale of certain lands in the West Indies were bestowed upon it by Parliament. In view of this Walpole promised to Berkeley twenty thousand pounds. For two years the dean waited in England for the grant, in the meantime completing his preparations.

declared the grant could not be paid until made some investment in America for the s the explanation of his appearance in the port, and of his purchase of the farm near ch at that place, and of his residence in He waited in vain. Walpole evaded the and advised his return. He replied to the on, who, as Berkeley's friend, pressed upon ent of his promise: "As minister I must you that the money shall most undoubtedly as suits with public convenience; but if a friend whether Dean Berkeley should erica, expecting the payment of the twenty ds, I advise him by all means to return , and to give up his present expectations." ject of Berkeley, in the form in which he mplish it, was frustrated; and he returned

efactors. He became, also, the intimate friend and frequent correspondent of Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Conn., and through him, after his return to Europe, contributed largely toward forming the charters and directing the course of the Academy and College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) and of King's College, New York (now Columbia College).

Dr. Johnson was called to be the first president of both these institutions. Benjamin Franklin strongly urged the claims of the Philadelphia Academy upon him; and, though Johnson declined the offered position, he communicated to Franklin the suggestions of Bishop Berkeley, which were carefully considered and acted upon. This was not strictly a church institution, but it was largely under the influence of churchmen, and its first provost was the distinguished Rev. William Smith, one of the men most influential in determining the constitution and canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church. If it was not the child, it was the foster-child of Berkeley.

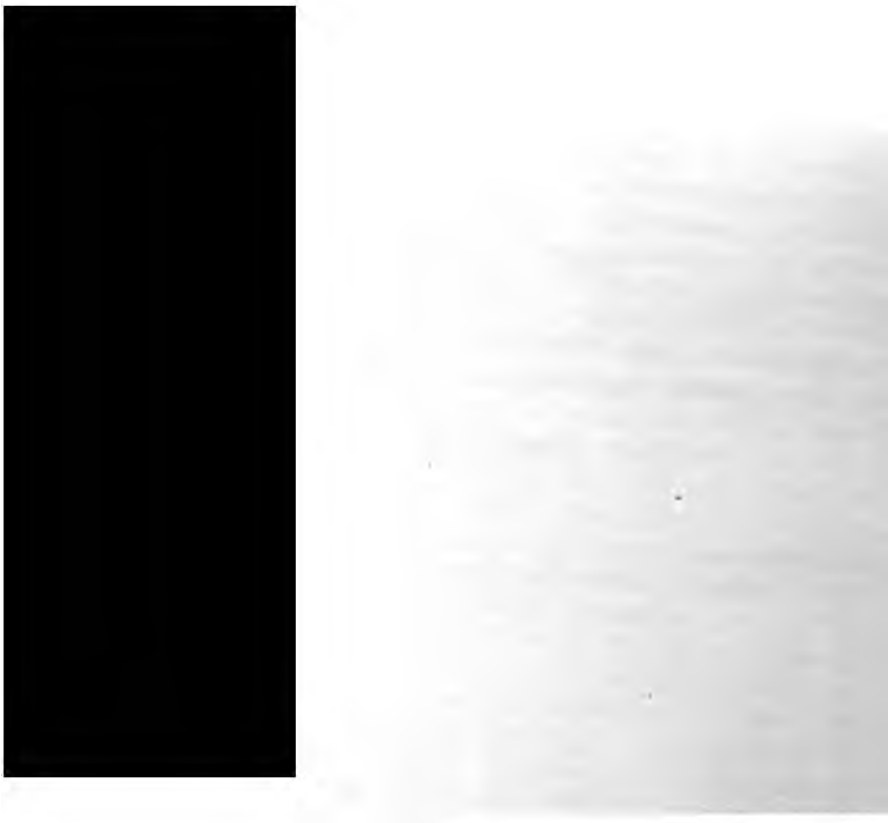
Of King's College (now Columbia College) Bishop Berkeley was the true spiritual founder. Its first trustees acted explicitly and consciously on the model conveyed to them, through Samuel Johnson its first president, from the bishop. This institution has always been under the direction of a churchman as its head, the corporation of Trinity Church having given the site on the condition that the president of the college should be in communion with the Church of England, and that the Morning and Evening Prayers should be those of the Prayer-book. Thus in the very heart of the metropolis of America the dream of the great dean is finding realization in a way far more effective than the exact accomplishment of his plans for a college in Bermuda could have secured.

The influence of Berkeley has not yet died out. His is

me to conjure with in matters educational. The erein stands the University of California is named of him. His name is given to the Divinity f Connecticut at Middletown, and to various pre- schools throughout the country, notably those in k and Providence. The Berkeley Prize which he in Yale College is one of the most coveted in the y at New Haven. There a college hall bears his d a stained-glass window stands as his memorial ollege chapel. His interest in America con- ctive after his return to Europe. He frequently nded upon topics of education with our prominent s, and wrote shortly before his death to President The daily increase in religion and learning in your of Yale College gives me very sensible pleasure mple recompense for my poor endeavors to further od ends." His interest in America was continued

PERIOD II.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (A.D. 1789–1895).



CHAPTER XII.

ECCLESIASTICAL ACTION PRELIMINARY TO THE FORMATION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

WHEN the War of the Revolution had ended it became a difficult and delicate task to gather the scattered remnants of the English colonial churches together, and out of them to construct an ecclesiastical corporation coterminous with the nation. The nation itself was as yet unsettled in regard to the nature of the union of the States. The political condition of the confederation did not of itself tend to foster the conception of one uniform Episcopal communion for the whole country. The first efforts, therefore, for the resuscitation of the Episcopal parishes were provincial. The church, as well as the nation, passed through a confederate period which, only after several years, resulted in both cases in the adoption of a constitution which established unity. In the same year (1789) the United States became a nation with a President and a Constitution, and the Protestant Episcopal Church an organized ecclesiastical body with Bishops and a General Convention. Previous to this consummation the State, in ecclesiastical as well as political affairs, preserved a prominence which concentrated attention on the concerns of the church within its own borders. In the beginning of the national existence the Episcopal Church in each State considered itself an integral part of the church of Christ, independent in its government of any other branch

urch in Christendom. So ingrained was this idea habit of referring to the State rather than to the continued long after ecclesiastical unity had been ed. As a consequence, before any proposition n made from any quarter, or any meeting had d anywhere, looking to organic unity, the churches rious States began to consider how best to secure rate interests of their own locality.

cclesiastical tie with the Bishop of London having ered, and all support from the Venerable Society eased by the terms of its charter, three great es, forced themselves on the attention of earnest en. These were: first, the conservation of church ; second, the preservation of the church's wor- rd, the inauguration of an American episcopate. three needs were differently emphasized in differ- s of the country. The South, as the seat of the ment, had its attention first directed to the pecas-

In New England, where the church had always existed in opposition to the popular will, and where it had especially felt the defect of incomplete organization, the first necessity descried and the first effort made was to secure the episcopate. It was in Connecticut, where the church had grown up on the soil, developed out of conviction, not merely received by inheritance; where its ministry was chiefly native, and its character especially steadfast and correct, that the first distinct motion for completing the church organism by obtaining a bishop was put forth. This object was the one most beset with difficulties, having to face apathy abroad and turn its back on distrust and enmity at home. It was felt, however, to be a matter of life or death to the church. The body and the members were both preserved, though in disabled condition; but the head must be added, and at once, or the church could neither run nor walk, but must limp impotently among its adversaries, whose polity was complete, and whose patriotism was astir with hatred of both the English state and the English Church. Such was the general situation.

ACTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The first suggestion of a plan for resuscitating the Episcopal churches and binding them together into some sort of unity emanated from the Rev. William White, presbyter of Pennsylvania, and rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. In the summer of 1782, after active hostilities had ceased, but before independence had been acknowledged or peace declared, he published anonymously a pamphlet entitled "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered."[1] This publication was prepared just at the

[1] The document is given in "Half-century of Legislation of the American Church," Perry, vol. iii., p. 421. Dr. White himself gave this account of it in a charge which he delivered to his clergy in 1832, forty-five years after he

Sir Guy Carleton made the first communication
ard the establishment of peace with independ-
ntemplated a state of things where there was
nd no likelihood of obtaining one; and its ob-
inaugurate such action as should prevent the
lution of the remaining parishes and congre-
he author pointed to the fact that all former
over the churches had been withdrawn by the
at their future continuance could only be pro-

bishop: "The congregations of our communion throughout
es were approaching annihilation. Although within this city
three Episcopal clergymen were resident and officiating, the
he rest of the State had become deprived of their clergy during
by death or by departure for England. In the Eastern States,
ree exceptions, there was a cessation of the exercises of the
o the necessary disuse of the prayers for the former civil
ryland and Virginia, where the church had enjoyed civil es-
n the ceasing of these, the incumbents of the parishes, almost
on, ceased to officiate. Farther South the condition of the
better, to say the least. At the time in question there had

vided for by voluntary associations for union and good government. He therefore advocated an immediate movement, without waiting for the presence of a bishop, which should bring the churches into some measure of association and common government. Most of the principles maintained in the pamphlet were afterward incorporated in the constitution of the church. With the exception of the provisional substitute for a bishop (made unnecessary, before the pamphlet was really issued, by the recognition of the independence of the country), the general features of the plan still exist in the organization which was finally established in 1789.

"The Case" was a very remarkable forecast, as coming from the mind of one but thirty-five years of age. The principle of lay representation was fully enunciated in it. The features which are now embodied in our Diocesan and General Conventions were here distinctly traced in their essential characteristics. To state the plan more fully and distinctly: The individual churches were to be associated in small districts, in each of which the minister should be a delegate to a Convention composed of representatives elected from the vestry or congregation which they served. A permanent president was to be chosen, who, with other clergymen appointed by the body, might exercise powers purely spiritual, including powers of ordination and discipline according to reasonable laws. The country was to be divided into three large districts, each of which should have an annual assembly, consisting of members of the smaller districts within it, composed equally of clergy and laity, the presiding clergyman being always one. There was also to be a body representing the whole church, consisting of members from each of the three larger districts, chosen from clergy and laity equally, which should meet statedly once in three years. The general doctrinal

position of the church was sketched very much as it now exists; for the clergy, the questions contained in the ordination service, "with some general sanction given to the Thirty-nine Articles, so as to adopt their leading sense, not exacting entire uniformity of sentiment." For divine worship it was urged that power be lodged somewhere "of making necessary and convenient alterations in the service of the church," with the caution that such power should be exercised with great moderation. With regard to ecclesiastical discipline a like moderation was commended. "Such are the tyranny and hypocrisy too frequently arising from the exercise of this power," it said, "that it may be thought safest to leave men to those great sanctions of duty, the will of God and future reprobation."

Attention has usually been withdrawn from the general governmental positions of this pamphlet, which constituted its chief value and its enduring influence, and fixed upon its proposal to convey for a while the power of ordination to a presiding presbyter until such time as a bishop could be obtained. This suggestion attracted great attention, and called forth much animadversion, especially from the clergy of New England and New York. It perhaps quickened the action of the clergy of Connecticut, to whose notice it had been brought, in meeting and selecting a candidate for the episcopate in March of the following year. It certainly called forth from them a strong protest against its principles, in a letter written in their behalf by Dr. Jarvis, which stood by the position that a church without a bishop was no church, and that the necessity of the sacraments was not greater than the necessity for the authority to administer them. This letter, while urging that the true and timely remedy was an immediate application abroad for the episcopate, did not mention the fact

that steps had been taken in that direction by the Connecticut clergy. The necessity of secrecy was deemed so imperative that Dr. White was not advised of this action until more than a year later, when he met with some clergy at New Brunswick, N. J., to consider the situation of ecclesiastical affairs.

The proposal, however, to do without the episcopate was only a dictate of necessity, and it was provided "to include in the proposed frame of government a general approbation of episcopacy, and a declaration of an intention to procure the succession as soon as conveniently may be"; and when it had been obtained, "to confer a conditional ordination on those already made presbyters, to repair any defect in their orders." With the declaration of peace Dr. White recognized and rejoiced that no such necessity as he had suggested now existed; and in his answer to Dr. Jarvis he pointed out that the letter from Connecticut was a protest after the withdrawal of the proposition. He, however, always stood by the position he had taken. In his pamphlet he had fortified that position by reference to Hooker, Bishop Hoadley, Archbishop Usher, Archbishop Cranmer, and others of the English divines who had allowed necessity as a valid reason for departing from the episcopal regimen; showing that his position had been well considered before it was taken. He maintained that "a temporary departure from episcopacy in the present instance would be warranted by her [the Church of England's] doctrines, by her practice, and by the principles on which episcopal government is asserted." He never changed his views on this subject, though he deemed it fortunate that he was not called to act upon them. So late as 1830, in a letter[1] to his dear friend and son in the gospel, Bishop Hobart, who in this

[1] See "Memoir of Bishop White," Bird Wilson, D.D., pp. 86, 87.

d so widely from him, he remarks in a note:
nt with the sentiments expressed in that
he Case," etc.], I am still of opinion that
in which a duly authorized ministry cannot
he paramount duty of preaching the gospel,
iping of God in the terms of the Christian
ld go on in the best manner which circum-
. In regard to the episcopacy, I think that
sustained as the government of the church
of the apostles, but without criminating the
her churches; as is the course taken by the
gland."

vas in the real sense of the word a statesman.
ent, his convictions, his training, all kept him
unpractical idealist. The elevation of his
s conception and experience of the value of
and doctrine, preserved him equally from a
diency. His plan for organizing the church

complete dissolution for all time. He had, in fine, so high a conception of the value of religion as the traditions and creeds and organization of the English Church presented and regulated it that he would allow no temporary obstacle to stand in the way of its future realization in the United States. The church might limp until it could walk, but it must keep in motion. And when it could stand in its own right it must stand unfettered by foreign domination or proscription. It must be, not the Church of England in America, but the American church. While holding to the essential and permanent features of the English Establishment, the American church was not only not to be an Establishment, which indeed were impossible, but it was to be adapted to American life and ideas in its constitution and administration. It was to make its appeal to the national character and spirit. Hence it could not be simply a clerical autocracy; it must draw its strength from the source which supplied strength to the state, namely, the people. Lay representation became thus a prime element in its structure. He regarded this, indeed, as a practice of the primitive church; but his urgent and compelling motive for its introduction was not chiefly a regard for antiquity, but his conviction of its necessity for a vigorous and truly national life of the church in the United States. The laity, in fact, through the absence of any thorough ecclesiastical system, had had so large a share in parochial management during the colonial period that not to have admitted them to the church councils would have seemed to deprive them of a right already existent. To recognize them as representatives did not appear like the introduction of a novelty. It seemed to be the appropriate recognition of the old spirit of church administration.

Such, then, being his purpose (to embody the essential elements of the English Establishment in a form of organ-

hould imbibe and express the national spirit),
ıld not wait either for a complete ecclesias-
ion or a full national representation before
ıe task.[1] He was bent on an organization
es which could with propriety apply for the
t waiting until all parts of the country could
proposal. It was his purpose to begin with
s of the colonial churches as could be gath-
that there might be some body which could
presentative authority and form the nucleus
ecclesiastical organization. He believed this
ry to give weight to the intended application
Church, when the time should come, for the
ession. It is certain, that he thus obviated
objection which the archbishops brought
e consecration of Bishop Seabury, viz., that
cclesiastical or civil organization back of him.

to each by natural piety," and his companions looked upon him as a predestined clergyman. His pure nature was impressed and deepened by the death of a youthful friend, and by the preaching of Whitefield, who, as an old man, on his last visit to Philadelphia, preached in Christ Church once more. Thus it came about that after his graduation at the age of seventeen he turned his attention to sacred literature, and, under the direction of Provost Smith, together with four companions, wrote and delivered compositions concerning biblical and theological subjects on Sunday evenings, in the college hall. These studies and exercises continued for five years, when, in 1770, he proceeded to England for orders.

Ordered deacon in December of that year, he had still eighteen months to wait until of proper age to be ordained to the priesthood; and during this time he either sojourned with his aunts (certain Jacobite ladies of gentle blood and impoverished resources) or traveled through the country. In London he came to know Dr. Samuel Johnson well and Oliver Goldsmith more slightly. The whole sojourn deepened his culture and widened his intellectual horizon. On his return home, in September, 1772, having been ordained priest by Dr. Terrick, Bishop of London, in June of the same year, he at once became an assistant minister of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and remained connected with it all the rest of his life. When the hostilities of the Revolution came on, young White espoused earnestly the cause of his country. He had studied deeply the question of allegiance, and felt, no doubt, that in following the cause of the patriots he was acting on the principles of the English Revolution of 1688. When once the Declaration of Independence had been issued, he claimed to fulfill the liturgical law of praying for rulers by praying for Congress instead of the king. Circumstances, in his view

d changed the persons, as in England they
e substituted William III. for James II., and
s prayers went with his allegiance. Though,
vn phrase, he "never beat the ecclesiastical
s chosen chaplain to the Continental Congress
way with his family to Maryland during the
he British on Philadelphia in 1777, and the
treat of the Congress to Yorktown.
oomy moment in the national history. Gen-
e had not yet been checked in his march
ern New York, the severing of the Southern
tern States seemed imminent, and the war-
pty. His brother-in-law, Robert Morris, said
the post of chaplain was to present his throat
ut, because of the danger, White discerned
xcluded from his cure, he divided his time
gress and his family until the evacuation of

ored by them for his scholarship and his character. Washington and Franklin were his parishioners; Hopkinson and Morris were his vestrymen; Jay and Hamilton and Madison were among his friends. He felt the stimulus of their greatness, and none of his thoughts or projects were petty, though, so far as his church was concerned, it was the day of very small things.

Thus when the plan of raising the church out of the dust into which it had fallen began to form itself in his mind, it did not take the shape first of a perfect ecclesiastical structure, as with the Connecticut churchmen, nor of a legal security for the properties of a disestablished Establishment, as with the churchmen of Maryland and Virginia; but his first purpose and effort were for the consolidation of the spiritual forces at hand. He would nourish and augment the life which existed by consolidating its scattered fragments, and increase its vigor by stimulating its circulation. From this status, as a body united and representative, he thought it could appeal with dignity and success for its completed ecclesiastical order abroad, and with practical and reasonable argument for its right to its temporal possessions at home. If Seabury possessed the legal mind of the movement, with his eyes fixed on "especially the parchments," and William Smith represented the practical politician, intent to gather up the fragments of glebe and parish possession, that nothing be lost, White may justly be called the ecclesiastical statesman of the time, by reason of the broader scope of his purpose, which contemplated nothing as local, but everything as national. His heart beat not merely as a churchman, but as an American who foresaw that even the wheels of the most complete ecclesiastical organization would never move safely and aggressively in the land unless impelled by a spirit within the wheels which should be the religious ex-

of the national life. The spirit of freedom in the as to him a divine spirit, and its noble aspirations lative exercise were to be conserved as forces in lom of Christ. He meant to keep that kingdom ts Master, and from the hand of the English e would take creed and liturgy and order. Faith, and discipline (in its large sense) should here hey had stood in the past ages. He also meant Christ's kingdom true to the exigencies of the n of the Republic, and mold it into forms which peal to the national conscience as reasonable and n harmony with a government of the people, by le, and for the people. He aimed, therefore, beginning to make it in its organization truly ative of all estates of men in the church. The nd the laity were to take sweet counsel together, lk in the house of God as friends.

men of the eighteenth century; but his temperament and his religious experience kept him from sympathy with the more fervid and exciting methods of the more ardent evangelicals of his day. In theology he was one with them in his opposition to the theory comprised in the words "priest, altar, sacrifice"; but he did not share in their tinge of Calvinism, and nurture rather than conversion was his ideal of Christian experience. He was solicitous to vindicate the rights of High-churchmen; and his intercourse with Seabury and the Eastern clergy of his type was one of unfailing courtesy and charity. Unlike Provoost, he would not allow differences of political conviction to interfere with ecclesiastical comity. He stood for the combination of all schools in the higher unity of Christ's church. Had it not been for the equipoise of this clear mind and true heart it is difficult to see how the diverse elements of Southern and Eastern churchmanship could have all been combined in one Episcopal Church for the country. The rigidity of the North and the laxity of the South seemed to confront each other as implacable foes. But this man, who never yielded a point of principle, knew how to draw into practical union those who differed so widely both in temper and theory. The result was less one of compromise than of mutual recognition. It was a commingling of centrifugal and centripetal forces, resulting in coherence. The issue was a system of liberty protected by law; and the final ecclesiastical constitution which resulted bears the impress of the comprehensive wisdom and catholic heart of him from whose mind it originally sprang.

To make that church a church of party would be to contradict the spirit of its origin. It was framed to be the hospitable home of all who could rest on its fundamental

[1] See article of Bishop H. U. Onderdonk in "Annals of the American Pulpit" (Sprague), vol. v., p. 284.

distinct from a Protestant bo
catholic in its protest for the
therefore against the outcrop
growths; for the old order, a
agances of later ecclesiastical
ship in spirit and in truth, an
intricate technicalities and int
val legislation.

In thus following the Englis
Episcopal Church in America n
all that entangled it with the st
petency to adjust the old life to t
it found itself placed. It put
but it retained a childlike gra
transformed from a daughter int
action gave the pattern by whic
self has since ordered the conditi
colonies. Upon essentially the
down in the permanent part of
pal Churches in the United Sta
and growing churches of Engl
constructed. English ecclesiast
recognized with gratitude their
seeing wisdom of the patriarch o
Church; and that church itself

ACTION IN MARYLAND.

The title "Protestant Episcopal Church" was first applied to the Episcopal Church in Maryland during the latter part of the Revolution. It was adopted at a conference of the clergy and laity held at Chestertown, Kent County, Md., November 9, 1780. This conference was called by Rev. Dr. William Smith, shortly after his removal to the State from Pennsylvania, to consider the temporal condition of the churches subsequent to the Vestry Act of 1779.[1] It consisted of three clergymen and twenty-four laymen, mostly delegates from churches in Kent County. Dr. Smith was chosen president. At his instigation "A Petition to the General Assembly of Maryland for the Support of Public Religion" was prepared, to be submitted to the several parishes, and, when approved, presented to the Assembly. It asked that an act be passed, in accordance with the Declaration of Rights issued by the Assembly (November, 1776), empowering the vestry and wardens of the several parishes to raise money, by pew-rents and other means, to restore and keep in repair the church property. In order to appear as an ecclesiastical organization, a name was requisite. To speak of the Episcopal body as the Church of England would have been repugnant both to the loyal sentiment and the ecclesiastical prejudice of the province. It was moved, therefore, by the Rev. James Jones Wilmer, rector of Shrewsbury parish, Kent County, "that the Church of England, as heretofore so known in the province, be now called the Protestant Episcopal Church."[2] Dr. Smith is reputed to have been the author of this name, and very likely he suggested it; but, being in the chair, he could

[1] See chap. iii., p. 82.

[2] See "Life of Rev. William Smith, D.D.," vol. ii., p. 39.

it. The motion was adopted; and the name
everywhere throughout the Episcopal church,
and expressive of its leading peculiarities:
distinguishing it from the presbyterial or-
which virtually characterized all other Prot-
astical bodies, and Protestant as distinguished
urch of Rome, whose regimen was also episco-
le was first used officially by a representative
hurch in a "Declaration of Certain Fundamen-
d Liberties," issued by the clergy assembled
in 1783. The occasion of this convention
vs: After the declaration of peace, Governor
1783, called the notice of the Assembly to the
ligion, and recommended, as among the first
r for consideration on the return of peace, an
pport of the Christian religion.[1] Governor
riend, and had been a pupil of Rev. William

for leave to prepare a bill which should enable the Episcopal clergy, without losing their identity, to make necessary alterations in the liturgy and arrange a plan for the perpetuation of the ministry according to the episcopal regimen.

A great controversy was excited by the proposal. The odium of the Establishment clung firmly to its ecclesiastical polity; and there was a dread lest the movement might secure a legislative recognition which would involve a quasi-union of the Episcopal Church with the state, to the prejudice of other religious bodies.[1] The petition was, however, granted, and the clergy met at Annapolis August 13, 1783, to consider the proposed law. They prepared a charter of incorporation for adoption by the legislature, and issued a "Declaration of Certain Fundamental Rights and Liberties." In this "Declaration" the church in Maryland claimed to have an independent existence apart from any connection with the church in any other colony. It asserted the right for the church to act on the belief "that there be these three orders of ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons"; and that episcopal ordination was essential to the due exercise of ministerial functions in said church. It declared the identity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland with the Church of England, formerly established in the province, and asserted its title to the property secured to the Church of England by the Bill of Rights. It affirmed the right of the church to alter the liturgy in order to adapt it to the circumstance of its becoming an independent church. This was the first occasion on which the title Protestant Episcopal Church was officially used.

All the eighteen clergy present signed the "Declaration," and sent it to the governor with a suitable address.

[1] **Hawks,** "Ecclesiastical Contributions," vol. ii., p. 293.

its reasonableness, and promised his aid to
visions. Owing to the failure of the legisla-
no legal action was taken on the proposed
latter part of 1784. In the meantime, in
he clergy met with the laity, as representa-
several churches, to revise the action which
ken solely by the clergy; and the laity,
he "Declaration" and the other measures in
ssion, gave their unanimous consent. Here-
committee of both orders was appointed to
em of ecclesiastical government, to define the
clergy in matters spiritual, and to prescribe
iscipline for both clerical and lay offenders.
mmittee made an incomplete report indicating
features of their scheme. They agreed that
ined by a foreign bishop must take the oath
to the State of Maryland before he could be

the ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland." This Act of Incorporation is the only law passed at this time in recognition of the church.

We now return to the Annapolis Convention of August, 1783. One of its most significant acts was the election by the clergy, of whom alone it was composed, of Dr. William Smith, its presiding officer, to the office of Bishop of Maryland. A testimonial was prepared, to be given to the Bishop of London when Dr. Smith should apply for consecration, in which he was commended as a fit person, every way qualified for the office. The Convention also enacted that, until such time as a regular ordination of clergymen could be obtained, three clergymen should be appointed in each shire as examiners of candidates for holy orders, to whom they might give certificates as lay readers. By these acts the church in Maryland claimed to have a distinct, independent existence, without reference to any connection with the church in any other colony.

Though Dr. Smith was never consecrated bishop, he was so influential later on in the formation of the constitution of the church that an account of his career forms an essential feature of the ecclesiastical history of his time. He was a Scotchman of good family, born in Aberdeenshire about 1727, and was graduated at the University of Aberdeen in 1747. He came to this country as tutor to the two sons of Colonel Martin, of Long Island, in 1751. During his residence of two years in New York he published a pamphlet with the title "A General Idea of the College of Moravia," intended as a sketch for a proposed college in New York. It attracted the attention of Dr. Benjamin Franklin and the Rev. Richard Peters, of Philadelphia, and resulted in Smith's appointment as provost of the newly established Academy and College of Philadelphia in 1754. In the meantime he had returned to Eng-

y orders, and had been ordained deacon, in ce, by the Bishop of Lincoln, acting on behalf p of London, December 21, 1753, and two d was ordained priest, in the same place and equest, by the Bishop of Carlisle. As provost e he attained later a wide celebrity.

s and scholarship were such that in 1759 he ctor of Divinity by the University of Oxford, mendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury minent bishops of the English Church. The Aberdeen and Trinity College, Dublin, sub- ferred the same honor upon him. His great in education, but he also acted as adviser of le Society in regard to church interests in . He was a man of enthusiastic temperament ous impulses, and became noted as an elo- er, officiating on almost all public occasions; s the most prominent pulpit orator of his day.

opponents. He early had an encounter with the Quakers, who sued him for libel, and later he lost his provostship in a violent altercation with the trustees of the college. He was an intense antagonist and a hard hitter in controversy; but he did not cherish malice, and often became a warm friend to those whom he had opposed. When the war came on he was open and constant in his expression of disapproval of the measures of the British Parliament and ministry, declaring them unconstitutional, unjust, and unwise. When, however, it came to hostilities he was not prepared to counsel resistance, though he acquiesced in the condition of affairs after the Declaration of Independence. His sermon preached in Christ Church, June 28, 1775, before Congress and a vast concourse of people, at the request of the militia officers of Philadelphia, produced an immense sensation. It was entitled "A Sermon on the Present Situation of American Affairs." It ran through many American editions, was translated into several foreign languages, and the chamberlain of London ordered ten thousand copies of it to be printed at his expense and sold for twopence a copy. In it Smith maintained his opposition to British measures, characterized the doctrine of absolute non-resistance as absurd, yet declared it not within the province of the ministers of Christ "to draw the line, and say where submission ends and resistance begins." Though general and evasive in its conclusions in regard to definite measures, this sermon greatly stirred patriotic zeal, and consequently roused the ire of Governor Tryon, of New York, who threatened the author with the severe censure of the Bishop of London. It called forth the encomium of Dr. Priestley and the animadversion of John Wesley. It made Dr. Smith a famous man on both continents.

He continued devoted to the college and the advancement of its interests during the war, until 1779, when

distinct opposition to the institution, based
grounds. Its charter was changed, and Dr.
ly Episcopal clergyman among the professors,
l from the provostship. This occasioned the
he Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia. It
e violent acts of a violent time, and is gener-
to have been aimed at the provost, whose
d influence as a church orator were not grate-
whose political principles were more decided
[1] In the patriotic fervor of the time it was
was plausibly assumed, that the broad foun-
college would be narrowed into a Church of
itution. After the Revolution, in 1789, the
estored, and Dr. Smith again became provost.
me he had removed to Maryland and founded
ution at Chestertown. In one year he col-
usand pounds from the planters of the eastern
land for its endowment, General Washington

that he should have had opponents as well in those less dominated by his inspiring personality. The laity were not so enthusiastic as the clergy who elected him. Many were strongly opposed to there being at that time any bishop in Maryland. Even among his warm personal friends there were those who disapproved of his election. Dr. White afterward opposed its confirmation, not giving his reasons; but it is known that they were based on an estimate of his character. That character was generous, but not prudent. There was a secularity in his manner and tone of thought which savored more of worldly wisdom than of devout consecration. He was convivial, and may have at times lapsed into impropriety. The temporal rather than the spiritual concerns of the church engrossed his attention. In controversy, to which he was prone, the old Adam often got the better of the young Melanchthon. He was not, however, self-seeking. The opposition which he made to Dr. Seabury's consecration by the nonjuring bishops, if it had its personal element, was also caused by the fear that such a procedure would shut the door to the application for the English succession. This result would have greatly diminished the prestige of the national church, and given it a provincial aspect and character, marking it as distinct from the English Church, rather than as its legitimate successor. Dr. Smith may himself have been convinced of the inappropriateness of his own election to the episcopate. Certain it is that he never applied for consecration in England, though his election and testimonials from his State were above suspicion. When his election was not confirmed by the General Convention which gave its imprimatur to White and Provoost and Griffith, his disappointment did not sour him. He continued to be one of the most indefatigable workers in the construction of the ecclesiastical organization in which he was not to be a chief

was a co-laborer with White in all his efforts,
d a steadfast friendship for him, notwith-
opposition to his consecration. Prejudiced at
Seabury, both on account of his ecclesiastical
Scotch consecration, he was the chief mover
res which recognized the validity of his con-
brought him into union with the General
But both his good qualities and his defects
to wisely exclude him from the episcopate.

ACTION IN CONNECTICUT.

had Connecticut received the news of the
reaty acknowledging the independence of the
s than the church clergy became alert. A
the formal proclamation of peace, in the last
ch, 1783, ten of the fourteen missionaries in

infirmities, and Mr. Seabury, by the advice of the clergy, consented.

Seabury was a native of Connecticut, born while his father was yet a Congregational licentiate. He was reared in the colony, on Long Island once claimed by it, and he was a graduate of Yale College. His ministry had been exercised outside of Connecticut, in New Jersey, on Long Island, and at Westchester, N. Y.; and he had served, also, during the war as chaplain in the British army, being appointed in 1778, by Sir Henry Clinton, chaplain to the king's American regiment, commanded by Colonel Fanning. By his character, his churchmanship, and his political convictions he was a fair representative of the Connecticut clergy. He was their fitting choice; and his nomination was conducted according to his own principles, and was a strictly clerical one.[1] He was a man possessed of a clear vision, if not of the very widest horizon. He saw with distinctness what fell under his observation; and a duty once discerned called out a pertinacity of effort to accomplish it which eminently fitted him for the trying and difficult task now laid upon him.

In that time of doubtful prospects everywhere, and of unsettled ecclesiastical principles in various parts of the country, it was fortunate that one so completely convinced of both the righteousness and the necessity of his mission should have been found to act as pioneer in the search for the episcopate. That one thing he would do. The man-

[1] It has been suggested by Dr. McConnell, in his brilliant "History of the American Episcopal Church," that the laity were excluded from these proceedings out of regard for their safety. But the whole tone of Connecticut churchmanship, until a much later period, was adverse to the admission of laymen to church councils. The thought of admitting them to their deliberations probably occurred to no one of the clergy assembled at Woodbury. The whole transaction exhibits both the moral fiber and the stanch ecclesiastical character of the missionaries, whose claims concerning clerical prerogatives were never in the least doubtful.

s of the ecclesiastical situation did not pre-
s to his mind as to the mind of White; nor
ng like the same statesmanlike grasp of the
ons of the church as that great man who
up its constitution. But he had an eye
he feature of the ecclesiastical regimen which
ve coherence and vigor to its life, however
l controlled. For him it could never exist
head must be given to its members, how-
ll regulated, and then it could take measures
d advance. It is not open to doubt that,
matter of principle, as a matter of ex-
as right. No body could have a healthy
that consciousness of power and resource
maintenance and increase, which must be
the exercise of its chief functions on sources
Nor is it doubtful that the gaining of his
he hands of the nonjuring bishops of Scot-

These consisted chiefly of a letter written to the Archbishop of York, on behalf of the Connecticut clergy, by Abraham Jarvis, who had been secretary of their Convention; a testimonial testifying to Dr. Seabury's election and qualification for the office of a bishop, signed on the same date as the letter (April 21, 1783), by the clergy in New York who had been consulted in the matter, namely, Jeremiah Leaming, D.D., one of the two designated by the Connecticut clergy as a fit nominee, Dr. Inglis, rector, and Dr. Benjamin Moore, assistant minister, of Trinity Church; and a long letter of the same signatures to the Archbishop of York, dated May 24th.

Longer epistles of the same character, but of later date, were addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that see having been vacant when the first letters were written. These communications urged the paramount necessity of laying the foundation of a valid and regular episcopate in America; expressed dissatisfaction and rejection of the plan, published in Philadelphia, to constitute a nominal episcopate by the united suffrages of presbyters and laymen, which had been proposed and justified on the plea of the impossibility of securing bishops; pointed out that opposition to an American episcopate, on the part of non-Episcopalians, had declined since the acknowledgment of independence had deprived it of any political character; and urged that the various legacies which had been left for the support of bishops in America should be appropriated to the maintenance of Dr. Seabury, in case of his consecration. The communication from New York also commended the Rev. Dr. T. B. Chandler, formerly of Elizabeth, N. J., for appointment to the bishopric of Nova Scotia.[1]

[1] The Rev. Dr. Chandler was later fixed upon for the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, but, by reason of ill health, he was obliged to decline the appointment.

y was politely received by the ecclesiastical
England; but the action urged upon them
and testimonial was delayed on account of
awn both from English law and American
entanglement of the church with the state
d the proposed measure. The oaths in the
ffice, imposed by act of Parliament, could not,
d, be omitted by the sole dispensation of the
liament, though it decreed permission to the
ain priests and deacons for foreign countries,
there, and refused to empower them to con-
s without requiring the customary oaths of
he bishops required, also, the consent of the
ecticut that a bishop should reside within its
e they could presume to accede to what
med an act of political intrusion. This last
npletely cleared up by the prompt and self-

church at large. Certified copies of the law which had been passed, "embracing the church and comprehending all the legal rights and powers intended to be given to any denomination of Christians," were sent to Seabury by the committee and used by him, but, so far as he was concerned, used in vain.

There was at this stage of proceedings no disentangling the political from the ecclesiastical relations of the episcopate in the minds of bishops appointed by the crown. The apprehension of the civil rulers, also, of giving umbrage to a power with whom a treaty of peace had just been signed stayed their hand in opening the way for the bishops to act. Without the formal request, or at least consent, of Congress, the ministry refused to permit a bishop to be consecrated for any of the United States. Parliament adjourned, and no enabling act had been passed. Seabury had now been in England over a year. He could not anticipate either a speedy or a favorable action of the great powers, temporal or spiritual. Mindful of his instructions at home, he proceeded to Scotland to lay his case before the nonjuring bishops of that realm. The way had been prepared for his favorable reception.

The Rev. George Berkeley, prebendary of Canterbury and son of Bishop Berkeley, of Cloyne, who when dean had visited America, shared his father's enthusiasm, and earnestly desired to see the Episcopal Church fully equipped and established in the Western continent. In 1782, before the effort for organization in Connecticut had been begun, he had written to the Scotch presbyter of Aberdeen, who, at the time of Seabury's application, had become Bishop Skinner, suggesting that the suffering church of Scotland might confer great benefit on the suffering church in America. Later he wrote again, directly suggesting and urging the sending of bishops from Scot-

erican churchmen, who could not obtain the England. Bishop Skinner did not give an reception to such suggestions, but attention hy were awakened by them. There was, he respective fortunes or misfortunes of the nuch to attract them to each other.

uring bishops of Scotland were the successors glish bishops who, in 1688, refused to disown nd take the oath to William III., and hence "nonjurors." They had been in successive ardent Jacobites or adherents of the Stuarts. st establishment under William by their politi- of him as king, and their proscription was severe and bitter after the risings of 1715 and lf of the respective pretenders. Of these ris- iscopalians were the essential leaven, and as urgents they were denounced and persecuted.

were not enforced. Congregations met quietly, but in such numbers as they could gather.

With such a history behind them, it required courage backed by principle for the church of the nonjurors to deliberately resolve to do what the English hierarchy had refused, or had not been empowered by the state, to do. No wonder that Bishop Skinner at first hung back from George Berkeley's proposition. To act might disturb and dissipate the comparative peace now enjoyed. He wrote, in reply to the prebendary's appeal: "The enemies of our church might make a handle of our correspondence with the colonies as a proof that we always wished to fish in troubled waters; and we have little need to give any ground for an imputation of that kind." But it soon became evident that if there were to be an American bishop the nonjurors must consecrate him. The English Church in Scotland was as much tied and bound by Parliament as the Established Church in England. Thus it was that Seabury turned his face toward Aberdeen, where, and in the neighboring Highlands, the nonjurors were to be chiefly found. He had likely enough become acquainted with the church when, as a young man, in 1752, waiting to attain the proper age to obtain orders, he had studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh. The similarity between the situations of the two churches has been well pointed out:

"Both churches had, through their political situation, been driven to emphasize strongly the divine side of episcopacy. They both had their homes in the midst of a hostile Presbyterian community. They had each been trained to recognize a king who was hateful to their fellow-citizens. The people in both cases had learned to live their religious lives apart from the people among whom they lived. They were not readily touched by the spirit

e and place. Their spirit, at its best, was ed, self-contained." [1]

orge Berkeley heard that Dr. Seabury had land in search of orders, he reopened his cor- with Bishop Skinner,[2] urging the Scotch t in his case, and assuring them that "they ate no opposition from the English govern- to the American government, he added, pal Church of Scotland cannot be suspected supremacy of any kind over any people." position was sufficiently evident, and the first od authority; so that now the Scotch bishops eir warm approbation of the new proposal; . Seabury's distinct application came to them ady to grant it. This application he made friend, Dr. Myles Cooper, his fellow-loyalist, addressed a letter from London, dated August

the pressure of poverty as a reason for their speedy decision; and he made a suggestion that must have touched them strongly when, toward the end of his letter, he said, "Perhaps for this cause, among others, God's providence has supported them, and continued their succession under various and great difficulties: that a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical episcopacy may from them pass into the Western world."

The consent of the bishops was hardly gained when an objection was started from an unexpected quarter. Dr. William Smith, a Scotchman by birth, who had been ordained together with Dr. Seabury to the priesthood, and who, at the present time, was head of Washington College, Maryland, had been elected Bishop of Maryland August, 1783, just a year before. He had received letters commendatory to the Bishop of London, and hearing of the application of Seabury to the nonjurors, feared that if action were taken it might still further complicate matters in England and prevent his consecration by the English bishops. Through his cousin, then resident in London, he sent a protest against the proposed consecration, stating that Seabury's political course in America would render episcopacy suspected there, and asserting that the action proposed was "against the earnest and sound advice of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York." This protest made little impression in comparison with the impression made by Seabury's own person and presence, for he was a man after the nonjurors' own heart. As regarded the position of the archbishops, George Berkeley undertook to make that clear, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury of the proposed action, and asking a reply in case of serious objections, stating that no reply would be construed favorably. No reply came and the coast was clear.

Previous to this last ecclesiastical flurry the primus,

our, had written,[1] at the beginning of Octo-
Scotch bishops were willing to comply with
roposal, "to clothe him with the episcopal
d thereby convey to the Western world the
a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical episco-
ubting that he will so agree with us in doctrine
e as that he, and the church under his charge
cut, will hold communion with us and the
in catholic and primitive principles." Aber-
ed upon for the place of consecration, and the
t to Dr. Seabury to decide. He at once sent
conveying his thanks for their consent, prom-
as his influence could extend, to establish the
intercourse and union between the Episcopal
Scotland and that in America, and appointing
oth as the time of his arrival in Aberdeen.
ely on his arrival, arrangements were made for

respectable clergymen and a great number of laity." The consecrator was Robert Kilgour, primus, assisted by Arthur Petrie, the Bishop of Ross and Morny, and John Skinner, the coadjutor Bishop of Aberdeen, who preached the sermon on the occasion.[1] In view of all the past and of all the future it was a significant moment. The act secured at least two great results of far-reaching influence. In and through its effect upon England it undoubtedly hastened the Enabling Act, whereby the English bishops were empowered to convey the episcopate to America and give the stamp of national character to the Protestant Episcopal Church. In its effect upon America it saved it from the chaos of a continued acephalous condition, and secured to it the incomparable Communion Office, through the influence of Seabury, which both restores the primitive completeness of the service and guards it sedulously from the Roman error of transubstantiation.

Bishop Seabury, as soon as possible after his consecration, made arrangements for his return to his home, which was now to be his diocese.[2] He did not sail, however, for six months; but he made good use of the interval. On the day after his consecration he signed a concordat[3] with the bishops who had consecrated him, which pledged full

[1] The sermon preached by Bishop Skinner was published both in England and Scotland, and aroused much attention and animadversion because of its seeming reflections on the Church of England, in its assertion, in a note, that the Scotch church was wont to pay more attention to "the Acts of the Apostles than to the acts of Parliament." There were sharp criticisms upon it by Bishop Lowth and the Rev. George (afterward Bishop) Gleig and others. It, however, undoubtedly aroused the attention of Englishmen to the unnecessary oppression of the Scotch Episcopal Church, which led to the repeal of the penal laws in 1792.

[2] Bishop Seabury preached in the afternoon of the day of his consecration, in the chapel where he received his orders, and made a favorable impression by his earnestness, at the same time startling the congregation by the energy of his delivery, as "he used more gesture than was common in Scotland, and waved a white handkerchief while he preached." (See Beardsley, "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury, D.D.," p. 157.)

[3] See Appendix A.

etween the two churches of which they were
e heads, on the basis of their common faith,
l a promise of the new prelate to endeavor
ently could with peace and prudence to cause
on Office of the church in Connecticut to con-
of the church in Scotland. There was a cer-
promise, also, that when in Scotland he should
munion in public service with those ordained
h or Irish bishop, whom the Scotch bishops
s schismatical intruders. This is a water-mark
ent, which shows not merely the scar still
n the ill usage which the Scotch Episcopa-
eived, but also indicates the sturdy self-
and respect which lived in the hearts of
ntured to do what English bishops could not
endeavored to impress on the church in
culiar stamp of their own which the English
l. Armed with this concordat, with his let-

He wrote from London to his clergy in Connecticut as soon as he could make definite arrangements for his departure, which he found could not be until spring. He corresponded with the Venerable Society, concerning the continuance of his own and the other missionaries' stipends, and found that by the constitution of that society no help could in future be expected, as it was empowered by its charter to assist missionaries only in the colonies of Great Britain. He had interesting interviews with Dr. Inglis and Rev. Jacob Duché, both of whom had left their charges in America on account of their loyalty to the crown, and who gave him letters to Dr. White (now moving in the matter of the organization of the church in the United States), which, if not needed, greatly tended to smooth the way, on his return, for cordial and courteous intercourse with that calm and statesmanlike divine. He met with the Rev. Charles Wesley (who deplored the precipitancy of his brother John in setting apart Coke and Asbury as superintendents "of the Methodists in America"), and he impressed him greatly. "You knew," wrote the younger Wesley to Dr. Chandler, "I had the happiness to converse with that truly apostolical man, who is esteemed by all that know him as much as by you and me. He told me he looked upon the Methodists as sound members of the church, and was ready to ordain any of the preachers whom he should find duly qualified." [1]

bishop in America there will be no ground on which to make such a request, and that *the Philadelphia plan was only proposed on the supposition of a real and absolute necessity*, which necessity cannot exist where there is a bishop resident in America, every apprehension of this kind must vanish. My own inclination is to cultivate as close a connection with the Church of England as that church and the political state of the two countries shall permit. My hope is to promote the interests of that church with greater effect than ever." (Letter of Bishop Seabury of December 3, 1784. See Beardsley, "Life of Samuel Seabury," p. 160.)

[1] He adds in the same letter a sorrowful lament over his brother's act, and a prophecy, which has certainly not been fulfilled. "Had they had patience

us redeemed his time, Bishop Seabury sailed
rch 15th, and arrived in Newport, R. I., June
ing stopped at Halifax on the way. He re-
r than he went, having spent in this mission,
asted over two years, more than all that he
in the consciousness of success, and endeared
by his devotion to their cause. On August
ed at the first convocation of the diocese, and
he clergy (there was no lay representation)
and the pastoral letter of the Scotch bishops,
t satisfaction. On their part the clergy ac-
s "supreme in the government of the church
dministration of all ecclesiastical affairs." In
their behalf written by Mr. Jarvis to Dr.
e time of the selection of Dr. Seabury as
had strongly repudiated the plan suggested
"The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the

CHAPTER XIII.

FORMATION AND ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE PRAYER-BOOK (1784–89).

THE movement to constitute one Episcopal Church for the whole United States was begun at an informal meeting of several clergymen from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, at New Brunswick, N. J., May 11, 1784. They met by appointment to consult concerning the interests of the "Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy," a corporation which had been founded in 1769, largely by the efforts of Dr. William Smith, for the benefit of the three provinces now represented at the meeting.[1] Its charter and its funds needed attention under the changed conditions of the country. Before this meeting was arranged, the Rev. Abraham Beach, of New Brunswick, who suggested it, had written, in January, 1784, a letter to Dr. William White, of Philadelphia, expressing the hope "that the members of the Episcopal Church in this country would interest themselves in its behalf, would endeavor to introduce order and uniformity into it, and provide for a succession in the ministry."

This was thoroughly in accord with the plans and pur-

[1] This corporation, by mutual consent, and with a fair division of the funds, was afterward resolved into three, under the charters of the three States respectively.

White. As early as November 13, 1783, he
l, at a meeting of the vestry of his own
ppointment of committees from the vestries
es in Philadelphia to confer with the clergy
e formation of a representative body of the
urches in Pennsylvania. The committees
d, and, after consultation with the clergy, at
Rev. Dr. White, March 29, 1784, "were of
hat a subject of such importance ought to be
ossible, with the general concurrence of the
in the United States." When, therefore,
ne together at New-Brunswick, in May, their
harged with a larger interest than the resus-
e corporation in behalf of which they were

present at this meeting three representative
ach of the three States; namely, from New

necticut, and that, pending the application, they could not join in any proceeding which might seem to interfere with it.

A committee of correspondence was, however, appointed "for the purpose of forming a continental representation of the Episcopal Church, and for the better management of the concerns of said church"; and also a committee, consisting of Messrs. Beach, Bloomer, and Moore, to attend the Trinity Convocation of the Connecticut clergy "for the purpose of soliciting their concurrence . . . in such measures as may be deemed conducive to the union and prosperity of the Episcopal Church in the States of America." It was also agreed to procure as general a meeting as might be of representatives of the clergy and laity of the different States in the city of New York on the 6th of October following.

Before that general meeting a provincial one was held in Philadelphia which had great influence upon it. Within a fortnight after the meeting in New Brunswick a convention of the clergy and laity from the different parts of Pennsylvania was held in Christ Church (May 24, 1784), in accordance with the previous recommendation of the clergy and vestries of the churches of Philadelphia at their meeting (March 29th and 30th), for the purpose of forming a representative body of the Episcopal churches of the State. The clergy, of whom there were four, came in their right as rectors; the laymen, of whom there were twenty-one, had their appointment by delegation from the churchwardens and vestrymen of each separate Episcopal congregation. It was the first time that the laity sat in the councils of the church. Dr. White presided, and each church had one vote. A resolution reported by a special committee was adopted, to this effect:

"That it is expedient to appoint a standing committee

opal Church in this State, consisting of clergy
that the said committee be empowered to
and confer with representatives of the Epis-
h in the other States or any of them, and
aming an ecclesiastical government; that a
of ecclesiastical government, when framed, be
the several congregations, to be binding on
egations consenting to it, as soon as a majority
egations shall have consented; and that the
be bound by the following instructions or
principles:

hat the Episcopal Church in these States is,
to be, independent of all foreign authority,
or civil.

That it ought to have, in common with all
us societies, full and exclusive powers to reg-
ncerns of its own communion.

A standing committee was appointed, of which Dr. William White was chairman. He was not a negligent one. Before the autumn meeting in New York he had corresponded widely with churchmen in various parts of the country. Parker in Boston, and Bass at Newburyport (both afterward bishops of Massachusetts), Provoost at New York (subsequently its first bishop), Wharton at Wilmington, Del. (one of the co-laborers in liturgical changes), West of Baltimore, and Smith of Chestertown, Md., Griffith of Fairfax, Va. (first bishop elect of the State), and Purcell of South Carolina, with others, received these letters, which entered at length and in detail into the plans of reconstruction, and which, coming from such a source, stirred the interest and stimulated the action which brought so large a delegation to New York at the time appointed.

It was on the 6th of October that the convention agreed upon at New Brunswick in May assembled in New York. Rev. Dr. William Smith was made chairman.[1] There were representatives of eight States present; but the present meeting, like that of May, at which it was arranged, was regarded as a voluntary rather than an authorized convention, because, apart from the delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, the members represented no authority from the united churches in the several States, but only held appointments from special congregations. Even the regularly appointed delegates had received authority only to propose and deliberate. The acts of the body, therefore, took the form of recommendation and proposal.[2] One of the regularly appointed delegates, the

[1] See White, "Memoirs of the Church," p. 86; "Half-century of Legislation," vol. iii., pp. 3, 4; Perry, "History of the American Episcopal Church," vol. ii., p. 36 *et seq.*; Wilson, "Memoir of Bishop White," p. 101 *et seq.*

[2] "At a Convention of Clergymen and Lay Deputies of the Protestant

R. Marshall,[1] from Connecticut, read a paper
ed he had only been empowered to announce
rgy of Connecticut had taken measures for
e episcopate, and that, until they had suc-
could do nothing; but that as soon as they
succeeded they would come forward with
ready to do what the general interests of the
t require.

Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity Church,

ch in the United States of America, held in New York,
1784.

PRESENT AS FOLLOWS:

Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

REV. SAMUEL PARKER, A.M.

Connecticut.

REV. JOHN R. MARSHALL, A.M.

New York.

PROVOOST, A.M., REV. THOMAS MOORE,

Boston, who represented both Massachusetts and Rhode Island, also bore a missive from his constituents. They returned the Pennsylvania resolutions, which had been sent them, indorsed, with two suggestions: one, that the first resolution, concerning the independence of the Episcopal Church in this country from foreign ecclesiastical and civil control, was not to be construed so as to exclude an application for the episcopate to some regular episcopal power abroad; and the other, that in the representative body of clergy and laity the laity ought not to exceed the clergy, either in their number or their votes. Accompanying the resolutions thus approved were a series of votes by the clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the chief of which was one urging "that a circular letter be written to the Episcopal clergy of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, urging the necessity of their uniting with us in adopting some speedy measures to procure an American episcopate; as it is the unanimous opinion of this convention that this is the primary object they ought to have in view, because the very existence of the church requires some speedy mode of obtaining regular ordination." In the letter transmitting the resolutions and the votes it was said: "It is our unanimous opinion that it is beginning at the wrong end to attempt to organize our church before we have obtained a head;" and "as to the mode of obtaining what we stand in such need of, we wish above all things to procure it in the most regular manner, and particularly from our mother-church in England."

These documents from the East serve to show the very different standpoints from which the various parts of the church approached the problem, and make it all the more remarkable that they should have united so cordially in the "Fundamental Principles of an Ecclesiastical Constitution," which was the great achievement of the conven-

committee,[1] composed of clerical delegates from nia, New York, Maryland, and Massachusetts, delegates from Pennsylvania, New York, New d Delaware, was on the first day appointed to some general and fundamental principles of on, to be proposed for adoption by the churches veral States; and it was also desired to frame ubstitute for the State Prayers in the liturgy for use. It does not appear that this lesser duty rmed, but the greater was accomplished with l unanimity. The report, made on the second odied essentially the principles affirmed by the ia clergy in May, and was adopted.[2] It advo-

[1] mbers of this committee were Rev. Drs. William Smith and e, Rev. Messrs. Samuel Parker and Samuel Provoost, together Clarkson, De Hart, Clay, and Duane.

[2] rt was as follows:

y now assembled recommend to the clergy and congregations of ions in the States represented as above, and propose to those of

cated one general Episcopal Church for the United States, to be constitutionally governed by representatives, clerical and lay, from the church in each State; that this church embody the doctrine and adopt the liturgy of the English Church, so far as consistent with the changed political situation; that bishops be recognized as *ex officio* members of the General Convention; and that the concurrence of clergy and laity be essential for the validity of all measures. The first meeting of this General Convention was appointed for the Tuesday before the feast of St. Michael (i.e., September 27th), 1785, at Philadelphia.

This action, thought advisory and voluntary, was a timely one. It came in between two significant acts which bore strongly on the future of the Episcopal Church. On the 2d of September of this same year John Wesley had privately, in his bedroom at Bristol, solemnly set apart Dr. Coke as superintendent of the Methodists in America, with authorization to appoint Rev. Francis Asbury to a like position, and to ordain elders for the administration of the sacraments. Hitherto the Methodists, who now numbered fifteen thousand members and eighty-three preachers, besides several hundred local preachers,[1] had held themselves to be a society in the English Church, receiving the sacraments from its clergy. Henceforth they were to form a separate communion, and remove from even a quasi-connection with the Episcopal Church.[2] It is doubtful if Mr. Wesley meant more than to impart to Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, in a solemn manner which should compel respect and obedience, a special superintendence of the American Methodists, like that which he bore to the Methodist societies in England and Ireland. He certainly gave them the power of ordaining elders who should administer the sacraments; but this he did on the principle

[1] Stevens, "History of Methodism," vol. ii., p. 209 *et seq.*
[2] Tyerman, "Life and Times of John Wesley," vol. iii., p. 434.

limited way he practiced in regard to Scotland, he had adopted from Lord King) that a pres- ıt ordain presbyters. As America was now ·illy and ecclesiastically from England, he as- t he might rightfully do this for those outside of the English Church. When, however, these lents, a few years later, called themselves bish- y was loud in his protest against it.[1] But it e. The force and fervor of the whole body were swing. Their administration had the efficiency copal regimen; and their religious enthusiasm m further and further from any sympathy with ınd moderation of the church from which they No one in America, at the time of the October , knew of this circumstance; but the action had ı which, but for this anticipative legislation, e detached even larger numbers of Southern

When he returned the next summer to Connecticut it was to no organized diocese, but to a few clergy and churches, whom he was bound, so far as possible, to rule in the spirit and by the forms of the proscribed Scottish prelates who had ordained him. Had there been no other element than this in the national construction of the church, it would have stood to the apprehension of the community as an imported sect, discredited, if not disowned, by the mother of the colonial churches. Whatever service the action in Connecticut might contribute to the final result was largely dependent on its reception by a body with clearly defined principles of legislation, in harmony with the national spirit of representation, and determined to maintain the prestige and traditions of Christianity as embodied in the Church of England.

These two events (the breaking off of the Methodists and the establishment of a church hierarchy in Connecticut), great as were their effects on the future national church, were as yet unknown and could concern only those interested in the constitutional movement. When the advisory Convention of 1784 adjourned, to prepare for the authoritative and duly commissioned Convention in Philadelphia in 1785, the members left with a sense both of responsibility and anxiety. The Southerners were apprehensive that too much would be assumed. The Northerners were solicitous lest too much should be conceded. Dr. White, as prime mover and counselor, was serene and hopeful. At a meeting held at his house (February 7, 1785) by the members of the New York Convention of the preceding October, a Convention of all the clergy and lay delegates of Pennsylvania was called to meet in Christ Church on the 23d of May, "in order to organize the Episcopal Church in this State agreeably to the intentions of the body assembled in New York." At this Convention

bled, "An Act of Association of the Clergy and ons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the ennsylvania" was ratified, wherein the name estant Episcopal Church in the State of Penn- was adopted; an annual Convention with was established, pledged in its action to "be with the fundamental principles agreed on at previous meetings in Philadelphia and New d deputies were chosen to the Convention to be ladelphia in September, 1785.

8th of May, 1785, a convention (having at last rized by the act of the General Assembly of consisting of thirty-six clergymen and more ty laymen of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, mond, and passed resolutions appointing dep- e Philadelphia Convention to be held in Sep- 85. It agreed to the fundamental principles

the proper means of obtaining consecration for a bishop to officiate in this church." In Maryland, where, as in Pennsylvania, a Convention had been held before the October meeting in New York, another Convention was held subsequent to it, in the latter part of October, in which, the church in the State having been previously organized, the relations of the State Convention to the General Convention were defined.

After two attempts, a Convention of the clergy and laity of South Carolina was held in Charleston July 12, 1785, to take into consideration the matters recommended by the meeting at New York. It was sparsely attended, only three clergymen and scarcely half a score of laymen being present. Little was done, either in the way of organizing the church in South Carolina or suggesting action for the deputies of the church at large; but five deputies were chosen, only one of whom was a clergyman. This clergyman was the Rev. Robert Smith, who declined the appointment, and was replaced by the Rev. Henry Purcell. Smith's reasons for declining were of the noblest. Episcopacy was in this State distrusted as identified with an undue attachment to the British government. The anti-British sentiment, on account of the fearful ravages of the war, was intense; and there was danger that patriotic aversion to the church might be increased by its ecclesiastical consolidation. There was a strong probability that the Convention would decline the invitation given by the Convention in New York. Dr. Robert Smith, being the most probable candidate for bishop, should one be chosen, averted the danger by moving compliance with the invitation to join the Convention, on the understanding that no bishop should be settled in the State. He sacrificed his own prospects, and was content to appear an opponent of the episcopate to which he was soon to be

elevated, in order to join South Carolina to the General Convention. After so doing he could not feel that he was the proper representative to advocate a policy which carried out his motion, but did not express his sentiments.

In New York a Convention was assembled June 22, 1785, scarcely larger than that of South Carolina, consisting of five clergymen and eleven laymen, who elected three clerical and three lay delegates to the coming General Convention, whom they commended to conform to the general principles already established to regulate their conduct in the matter.

In New Jersey the Convention met at New Brunswick, July 6, 1785, consisting of three clergymen and fourteen laymen, and proceeded to elect a delegation of four clergymen and six laymen to the coming General Convention. These were empowered to accede, on the part of the Convention, to the fundamental principles of the October Convention in New York, and to adopt measures necessary for the general church not repugnant to those fundamental principles. Arrangements were also made for an annual State Convention.

At the North a different attitude toward the coming Convention was occasioned by the return (June 30, 1785) of Dr. Seabury, now a bishop. He had met his clergy in convocation at Middletown on the 2d of August, had delivered to them a solemn charge, and had received their address of allegiance. They all felt that the church in Connecticut was fully organized. An invitation had been addressed to Dr. White, and through him to the Southern brethren, to be present at this convocation, for the purpose of considering measures tending to the union of the church in the thirteen States. It did not seem advisable to them, in view of the coming General Convention,

to accept it; and their response was [illegible]
Bishop Seabury and his clergy [illegible]
to meet in Philadelphia in September [illegible]
did not seem expedient to [illegible]
clergy to do. The [illegible]
forth in the preliminary [illegible]
give to their bishop that [illegible]
held to be his due.

Mr. Parker, of [illegible]
town convocation had [illegible]
Philadelphia, and [illegible]
the assembling of the [illegible]
he had proposed [illegible]
be president of the [illegible]
would have been there [illegible]
alterations as had been made [illegible]
were in the main adopted [illegible]
lay delegates from the [illegible]
Island, and New Hampshire [illegible]
ings, sent by Mr Parker [illegible]
the coming Convention [illegible]
invitation to attend [illegible]
long letter to Dr William [illegible]
White, setting forth [illegible]
fundamental principles [illegible]
warded these documents [illegible]
now returned from abroad [illegible]
divine accompanied the [illegible]
one of his own. All the [illegible]
courteous in language [illegible]
outspoken in their opposition [illegible]
establishment of a national [illegible]
the too great curtailment of the [illegible]

order to join South Carolina to the General
After so doing he could not feel that he was
epresentative to advocate a policy which car-
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proceeded to elect a delegation of four clergy-
x laymen to the coming General Convention.
empowered to accede, on the part of the
to the fundamental principles of the October

to accept it; and their response was an invitation to Bishop Seabury and his clergy to attend the Convention to meet in Philadelphia in September. This, in turn, it did not seem expedient or proper to the Connecticut clergy to do. The fifth of the fundamental articles set forth in the preliminary Convention at New York did not give to their bishop that official precedence which they held to be his due.

Mr. Parker, of Boston, who was present at the Middletown convocation, had urged Bishop Seabury to attend at Philadelphia, and wrote to Dr. White, a fortnight before the assembling of the Convention, that, had Section V. (as he had proposed) provided that a bishop, if present, should be president of the Convention, he made no doubt one would have been there. In the meantime such slight alterations as had been made in the liturgy at Middletown were in the main adopted by a Convention of clerical and lay delegates from the churches in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. A copy of these proceedings, sent by Mr. Parker to Dr. White for the president of the coming Convention, was all the response made to the invitation to attend. Bishop Seabury himself wrote a long letter to Dr. William Smith, and a shorter one to Dr. White, setting forth his sentiments, and criticising the fundamental principles adopted in New York. He forwarded these documents through Dr. Chandler, who had now returned from abroad to New Jersey; and that worthy divine accompanied the communications with a weighty one of his own. All the letters were fraternal in tone and courteous in language; they were equally explicit and outspoken in their opinions. They criticised the premature establishment of so many and so precise fundamental rules, the too great curtailment of the episcopal office and dig-

he admission of lay delegates into the church least in the degree allowed. With such divi- iment, Bishop Seabury could not see that his permit his attendance.

appened that all New England was left out of neral Convention.

assembled, moreover, there came various comments from abroad. Bishop Skinner (a of Bishop Seabury) and the Rev. Jonathan h carried on a correspondence loudly lament- usy bustling" of Dr. Smith and the "motley " of the proposed Convention. The versatile Boucher was especially eloquent in his letters e, with depreciatory criticisms of the constitu- of organization, and with strong advocacy of bury's claims and principles. Rev. Alexander merly missionary at Reading, Pa., now abroad,

correspondence with Mr. Sharpe, though he did not see the necessity for the act which others so strenuously urged.[1]

It was in an atmosphere so charged with opposing tendencies that the first General Convention met. It came together in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the 27th of September, 1785. It was composed of sixteen clergymen and twenty-four laymen, representing seven of the thirteen States then existent, namely, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. The large preponderance of delegates was from the two States of Maryland and Virginia, they together having ten of the clergy and fourteen of the laity on their lists.[2] Rev. Dr. White was chosen president, and Rev. Mr. Griffith, of Virginia, was appointed secretary.

The first business was the reading of the "Fundamental Principles" of 1784, and their formal approval, except Section IV., to which the Virginia Convention, by far the

[1] He had in the summer of 1784 written from Passy, near Paris, to the young Americans who were in vain waiting for ordination in London: "An hundred years hence, when people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbors, should not be permitted to do it till they had made a voyage six thousand miles out and home, to ask leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury." In the same letter he had shown the chaotic state of his mind in matters ecclesiastical by the following narration: "I applied to a clergyman of my acquaintance for information on the subject of your obtaining ordination here. His opinion was, it could not be done; and if it were done, you would be required to owe obedience to the Archbishop of Paris. I next inquired of the pope's nuncio whether you might not be ordained by their bishop in America, powers being sent him for that purpose, if he has them not already. The answer was, the thing is impossible, unless the gentlemen become Catholics. . . . But what is the necessity of your being connected with the Church of England? Would it not be as well if you were of the Church of Ireland? . . . If both Britain and Ireland refuse you, I am not sure that the bishops of Denmark or Sweden would ordain you, unless you became Lutherans. What is to be done?"

[2] Of the clergy, the Rev. Messrs. Provoost of New York, Beach of New Jersey, White of Pennsylvania, Smith of Maryland, Wharton of Delaware, Griffith of Virginia, and Purcell of South Carolina were the most prominent. The more prominent laymen were Messrs. Duane of New York, Dennis of New Jersey, Peters of Pennsylvania, Sykes of Delaware, Craddock of Maryland, Page of Virginia, and Read of South Carolina.

any which had sent delegates, had objected.
it, a resolution was adopted as follows:
a committee be appointed, consisting of one
d one lay delegate from each State, to consider
ort such alterations in the liturgy as shall render
t with the American Revolution and the consti-
he respective States; and such further alterations
rgy as it may be advisable for this Convention
end to the consideration of the church here
d."
th Fundamental Principle, to which Virginia
demurred, was explained as meaning that the
ere to vote by States and not individually.
undamental Principles, as adopted by this Con-
came the only bond of union acted under by
until 1789. The general constitution framed
esent Convention was recommendatory only,

instructed to prepare and report "A Plan for Obtaining the Consecration of Bishops, together with an Address to the Most Rev. the Archbishops and the Right Rev. the Bishops of the Church of England for that Purpose." The chief labors of the Convention thus fell upon the committee, which was composed of those persons whom we have previously indicated as the ruling spirits of the assembly, and of whom Dr. White was unmistakably the leader. By October 1st, which fell on a Saturday, the committee reported on the first two subjects; and the consideration of the liturgical alterations, paragraph by paragraph, was begun, and continued at Monday's session. During the transcription by the clerks of the liturgical alterations on Tuesday, October 4th, the "Ecclesiastical Constitution" was agreed upon, and the address to the English archbishops and bishops was received. This rapid action indicates careful preparation previous to the Convention; but in the case of liturgical alterations a longer time was needed to put them into shape before they could be wisely acted upon. On Wednesday, October 5th, when all the proposed alterations had been read and reviewed, a committee, consisting of Dr. White, Dr. Smith, and Mr. Wharton, was appointed to "publish the Book of Common Prayer with the alterations proposed, as well as those now ratified (in order to render the liturgy consistent with the American Revolution and the constitutions of the respective States),[1] as the alterations and new offices recommended to this church; and that the book be accompanied with a proper preface or address, setting forth the reasons and expediency of the alterations; and that the committee have liberty to make verbal and grammatical corrections, but in such manner as that nothing in form or substance be altered." This resulted later in the publication of the

[1] The parentheses are introduced by the author to make the sense clear.

Book." The same committee were "authorized
ith the Book of Common Prayer such of the
singing Psalms, and such Kalends of proper
he different Sundays and Holy Days through-
r, as they may think proper." On the day
ent, October 7th, as had been voted by the
the liturgy of the "Proposed Book" was read
e, and a sermon explanatory of it was preached
h, who was the chief promoter of the changes

anges were much greater than had been
but still they were not so great as those
red in the "Proposed Book." Dr. Smith, in
had said of the committee on alterations in the
hich he was the ruling member,[1] "We stood
it were, at an awful distance. It appeared
ege to approach the porch, or lift a hand to

also, for the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving day. In embodying these changes in the "Proposed Book," still further modifications were introduced, although it had been provided that "nothing in form or substance be altered." As the book was never adopted, never even achieved a passing popularity, and would not even sell, it may seem needless to have dwelt upon it at all. It forms, however, too significant an indication of the temper of the times, whose dangers the wiser counsels of more sober men averted,[1] to be lightly passed by.

The really great work of this Convention was "A General Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."[2] It had been anticipated in the Fundamental Principles of 1784, and it was changed in several features in 1789; but it is the root out of which the constitutional system of the church has grown, and exhibits the foundation-principles of the present ecclesiastical organization. It is preëminently the work of Dr. White, who was engaged upon it while Dr. Smith was busied with the liturgical changes. It embodied the principle of one church for the country, to act through deputies from the churches in the several States in the

[1] See White, "Memoirs of the Church," p. 115 *et seq.*, where Dr. White fully criticises and explains the course, which he deemed unwise and unjustifiable, taken in this matter, which, otherwise, from his membership on the committee of publication, he might have been deemed to approve. As an instance, much commented on in regard to the religious looseness of the time, notice ought, perhaps, to be taken of the proposition of Mr. Page in the committee to substitute one short petition for the first four petitions of the liturgy. No one but himself favored it, and he explained that his objection was not to the doctrine, but to the use of the word "Trinity" as an appellation of God in prayer, which, not being a Scriptural term, he deemed undesirable. Should, however, the fourth petition be omitted, the other three might be construed to involve tritheism, and therefore one inclusive petition (what, does not appear), he thought, would obviate the difficulty. This, the most startling proposition made, does not, therefore, stand so much for doctrinal unsoundness as for liturgical rashness.

[2] See Appendix B.

Convention, which was to meet once in three
t defined the number of deputies and their mode
It was chiefly remarkable for its insistence on
ell as clerical representation, and the *ex officio*
hip of bishops, to whom, however, it failed to
ial precedence. It provided that clergymen of
ler should be amenable to the authority of the
on of their own State, in regard to suspension or
an article strenuously opposed by the English
s well as by Bishop Seabury, as seeming to in-
ubjection of the highest order of the ministry to
orders and to the laity (a view which Dr. White
d). It provided for the ratification of the Book
on Prayer as altered; and set forth a Declaration,
in the form at present in use, to be signed by
nister before receiving permission to officiate in
rch. This constitution, when ratified by the

Dr. White's own expression, "far from being certain that the same event would have been produced by any other plan that might have been devised." The adoption of the constitution with amendments at the General Convention of 1789 created a church, as the simultaneous adoption of the Constitution of the United States created a nation.

The Address to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England,[1] asking for the episcopal succession at their hands, was also a most important act of the Convention.

The letter of Bishop Seabury to Dr. Smith had been laid before the delegates, as the author had requested, and its sentiments created some warmth of expression from those of conflicting opinions. The fact that the bishop and the Connecticut clergy had been invited to the Convention made it eminently proper that the communication should be heard; and when this was pointed out the commotion subsided. The letter, however, had a decided effect on the Address to the English bishops. "The majority of the Convention certainly thought it a matter of choice, and even required by decency, to apply, in the first instance, to the church of which the American had been, till now, a part;" although there had been a repugnance on the part of some to applying where a refusal had been so constant, and, in Bishop Seabury's case, so recent. The door was open for a Scotch consecration; but, in view of the sentiments of Bishop Seabury's letter, those inclined to enter it were convinced that it would be better and more available to apply where there would be less stiffness on the points objected to by Bishop Seabury, who reflected the Scotch view of the matter. There was great unanimity, therefore, in the application to England.

[1] See Appendix C.

Address was written by Dr. White, and reflects his
r in the dignity and courtesy of its style, and the
in all its earnestness and anxiety, of flattery or
It asked what he felt the church had a right to
It referred with gratitude to the past and pointed
necessities of the present. "The petition which we
your venerable Body is," it stated, "that, from a
egard to the religious interests of thousands in this
mpire, professing the same religious principles with
rch of England, you will be pleased to confer the
l character on such persons as shall be recom-
by this church in the several States here repre-
It said, in relation to the political side of the
"Our civil rulers cannot officially join in the
application; but we are far from apprehending the
on or even displeasure of any of those honorable
ges; and in this business we are justified by the
ions of the States, which are the foundations and

a respectful address to the civil rulers of the States in which they respectively reside, to certify that the said application is not contrary to the constitution and laws of the same." In consequence of this, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, and Virginia, through their chief officers, gave the desired certification; and the names of Charles Biddle, George Clinton, and Patrick Henry were found appended to the documents from their respective States.

John Adams was then minister to the court of St. James; and his assistance, not officially as foreign minister, but as a private individual of commanding position, was sought in the matter. Though he had no connection with the Episcopal Church, he had previously interested himself in obtaining ordination from the Danish bishops for several candidates for orders[1] who could not, after the acknowledgment of American independence, obtain ordination from the Bishop of London. He had succeeded then, and he now presented the Address of the Convention to the Archbishop of Canterbury in person, and accompanied it with such explanations and documents as were calculated to forward the object. He afterward took occasion to express his satisfaction that he had been able to be of service in the matter. Undoubtedly he was of great service. Official station had then, as now, great weight in England; and the fact that Mr. Adams was a Congregationalist gave assurance that no opposition of a civil nature was likely to be aroused by granting the request.

In voting the Address the Convention recommended to the Conventions of the respective States to elect bishops for their several jurisdictions, and to provide that their respective bishops be called "The Right Rev. A. B.,

[1] White, "Memoirs of the Church," p. 17.

f the Protestant Episcopal Church in C. D.," and
s have no other title.

er, the Convention appointed a committee with
powers, among which was the one of correspond-
ng the recess with the archbishops and bishops
nd. It then adjourned (October 7th), to meet
Philadelphia June 20, 1786.[1]

ddress was at once sent to England. Much solic-
s felt as to its reception. Dr. Provoost, who was
t patriot and a lukewarm divine, took counsel of
udices and his fears, and apprehended much
n from Bishop Seabury, which apprehension he
reluctant to express. He was not an unkindly
ut Seabury's service as chaplain in the royalist
d his English pension in consequence, together
intense Toryism, were an offense to him. The
was heightened by Seabury's acceptance of orders
e nonjurors whose political views he equally

for the Tory rector to retire. His accomplishments and social geniality made him a conspicuous and popular man in the community, and his nomination as first Bishop of New York seemed to be a foregone conclusion. While he was no devotee, he was never lax in his conduct, and his characteristics as a theologian were akin to those of his personal character. He was a fair specimen of the Georgian divine of the better class. He stood equally aloof from the dogmatic assertiveness of the High-churchmen and the fervent enthusiasm of the Evangelicals. He would probably be classed as a latitudinarian doctrinally and ecclesiastically; but he lacked both the philosophical depth and the moral enthusiasm of those of the Cambridge divines designated by that name. He was thus out of touch with the religious elements working in the community where he lived, while as a scholar and social leader he was held in high esteem. His course, therefore, in regard to Bishop Seabury, which was one of unrelenting opposition, politically, doctrinally, and ecclesiastically, is explicable though not excusable. There was not in his case, as in White's, the solicitude of a deep moral earnestness to keep a curb on his prejudices and passions. He made up for his moderation in the church by his animosity against individual churchmen, and came near making church unity impossible. In view of such impetuosity as that of Provoost and such pertinacity as that of Seabury, it is no wonder that Dr. White, speaking of the adjourned meeting of 1786, should say, "The Convention assembled under circumstances which bore strong appearances of a dissolution of the union in this early stage of it."

The partisan expectations of Provoost in regard to Bishop Seabury's action were not justified. The latter wrote to Dr. White early in 1786, and, while he still strongly objected to much which he had heard about the

tion, said, "I assure you no one will endeavor effect the cordial union of the Episcopal Church the continent than I shall, provided it be on al principles."[1] Letters were, however, received White from Drs. Duché, Alexander Murray, and Inglis, from England, expressing great alarm lest ceedings of the Philadelphia Convention should and rightly, a favorable answer from the bishops Address.

nswer came by the middle of May, and was com- ed to Dr. White by Dr. Provoost, who also laid it he New York Convention. The adjourned General tion met in Philadelphia to consider it, June 20, Seven States were represented. There were four- rgymen and twelve laymen present; but of these ht of the clergy and three of the laity had been at the meeting in 1785. At this meeting Hon.

are anxious to give every proof not only of our brotherly affection, but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterward may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in doctrine or discipline."

The resolutions passed concerning this letter expressed the trust that the Convention would be able to give such information to the venerable prelates as would satisfy them that no essential deviation from the Church of England had been adopted or intended; and a committee, consisting of Drs. Smith, White, and Wharton, and Messrs. James Parker and Cyrus Griffin, was appointed to draft a reply to the letter.

The allusion in the letter to private information of an alarming character seems to have stirred up some bitter feeling among the members of the Convention in regard to the New England element, known to be in opposition. A motion to require the clergy present to declare by whom they were ordained, and one to pledge the Convention to do no act that should imply the validity of ordinations made by Dr. Seabury, were made and lost. But other resolutions were adopted recommending that "clergymen professing canonical subjection to any bishop in any State or country, other than those bishops who may be duly settled in the States represented in the Convention, be not received to a pastoral charge"; and, again, that no "minister receiving ordination from any bishop residing in America, during the application now pending to the English bishops for English consecration, be admitted as minister in the States represented in the Convention."

These resolutions were regarded by many as affronts to

Seabury. Dr. White, the author of the first, ed any such intention. Dr. Robert Smith, of alluded to him in offering the second. It is but emember, however, that in addition to the irritation d by the attitude of Connecticut and Massachu- hose clergy, it was feared (though wrongly), were o defeat the application to England, great anxiety lest a seeming approbation of the Scotch conse- should itself defeat the application for English the relation of the English hierarchy to the non- eing what it was.

emorial from the church in New Jersey, said to en drawn up by Dr. Chandler, was received and "to the first General Convention which shall e with sufficient powers to determine on the same." morial approved of the application to England for ation, and of the Address in which it had been

nounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry on any clergyman."

The "Proposed Book" was authorized to be used by the church in those States which adopted it, until the first General Convention, with sufficient power to ratify a Book of Common Prayer, should assemble. The moral and doctrinal requirements for candidates for ordination and parochial cures were also strengthened and emphasized.

The churches in the several States represented in the convention were recommended to authorize their deputies to the next General Convention, after a bishop or bishops had been obtained, to ratify a general constitution.

The draft of the reply to the English bishops, composed by Dr. William Smith and amended by Hon. John Jay, was then read and adopted. It acquiesced in the wisdom of the bishops' hesitation to act while doubts existed concerning the maintenance of the same essential articles of faith and discipline with the Church of England. At the same time it expressed satisfaction that no other obstacle was likely to stand in the way, as they trusted that the proposed ecclesiastical constitution and Book of Common Prayer, which were now sent, would afford a full answer to every question which could arise on the subject. They therefore renewed their application with gratitude and confidence, and asked for a speedy answer, as in certain States the church had proceeded to the election of persons to be sent for consecration, and others might soon proceed to the same.

When this reply had been signed, the committee on correspondence was empowered to call a General Convention at Wilmington, Del., whenever a majority of it should think fit; and the Convention adjourned June 26th.

Shortly after the adjournment another letter was received from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, written

receipt of the ecclesiastical constitution (as
ober, 1785) and the "Proposed Book," which
hand soon after the adjournment in June. It
t a bill empowering them to consecrate bish-
erica had been prepared, and would doubt-
passed by Parliament, notwithstanding their
isfaction with most of the liturgical changes in
ed Book." They insisted on the restoration
tles' Creed in its integrity, and urged the
the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, even
se of them should be left discretional. They
, that candidates for episcopal consecration
both a testimonial from the General Conven-
s many signatures as possible, and a more
e from the respective Conventions in those
recommended them.
to the ecclesiastical constitution, they strongly

Dr. Wharton, had completed and issued the "Proposed Book"; but from the course taken in regard to it by the various State Conventions, "it was evident that," to quote the words of Dr. White, "in regard to the liturgy, the labors of the Convention had not reached their object." New Jersey had rejected it. Maryland and Pennsylvania had proposed amendments. Delaware had not acted. New York held its decision in suspense. Virginia had accepted it with the rejection of the rubric concerning the repelling of evil-doers from the communion. South Carolina alone had adopted it entire. New England was lukewarm, and Connecticut was against it. Under such a state of opinion, concessions to the objections of the English bishops were not difficult.

In the meantime three bishops had been chosen in addition to Dr. William Smith, the Bishop elect of Maryland. Dr. Griffith had been elected, at the second Convention of Virginia (held in May, 1786), bishop of that State; Rev. Samuel Provoost (made Doctor of Divinity three weeks later by the University of Pennsylvania) had been elected Bishop of New York at the Convention of the church in that State (held June 13th); and Dr. William White had, at a special Convention held at Philadelphia (September 14th), been chosen Bishop of Pennsylvania.

When the Convention assembled at Wilmington, October 10th, Virginia was not represented, Dr. Griffith having written Dr. White that he thought he had no right to a seat without a new election. Only six, therefore, of the States represented in the June Convention were represented here, and there were only nine clerical and eleven lay deputies present. The chief men, however, were there; and Provoost of New York, Ogden of New Jersey, White of Pennsylvania, Wharton of Delaware, Robert Smith of South Carolina, and William Smith of Maryland

esented the opinions, and more than represented
, of the clergy of the several States. Rev. Dr.
Bishop elect of New York, was made chairman
ence of Dr. Griffith, and the Convention was
n adjourned meeting of the Philadelphia Conven-
letter of the archbishop and the accompanying
iament were at once considered, and referred to
mmittee, whose report was established as "An
General Convention." In this act the commit-
d to the urgent request of the archbishops and
ne Apostles' Creed to its integrity. They also
nd inserted the Nicene Creed, and made the
changes involved in the preface, the rubrics, and
s of the "Proposed Book." The Athanasian
rejected almost unanimously.[1] The form to be
by bishops, priests, and deacons concerning the
ok was accommodated to the present state of

whether bishops had been elected by the respective Conventions of the same, New York responded with the name of the Rev. Samuel Provoost, D.D., and Pennsylvania with the name of the Rev. William White, D.D., as bishops elect. Their testimonials were signed by the members of the Convention in the form prescribed by the archbishops; and as it appeared that the Convention of Virginia, not represented, had elected and recommended the Rev. Dr. David Griffith as bishop, his testimonials were also signed. A committee of correspondence was appointed, with power to call a General Convention at Philadelphia when a majority of them should see fit; and the Convention then adjourned *sine die*, on October 11th.[1] As Bishop George Burgess, of Maine, at a later period remarked, "No assembly of the American church has occupied itself with transactions of greater pregnancy than those which, in October, 1786, were settled by the voices of twenty men in two days." Their rapidity of action was, however, not haste; it was the result of long and earnest premeditation.

It brought forth immediate fruit. Three weeks after the Convention adjourned, namely, on November 2, 1786, the two Bishops elect of New York and Pennsylvania embarked for England on the packet "Speedy." Dr. Griffith, of Virginia, did not accompany them, being detained by private circumstances; and it is known that poverty prevented his taking the voyage both now and at a later period. He was never consecrated. Drs. White and Provoost reached Falmouth in less than three weeks, landing November 20th. They were in London November 29th, and waited at once on Mr. Adams, the American minister. His cordiality and interest were abundantly

[1] The records of the Convention say nothing of Dr. William Smith's application for testimonials as Bishop of Maryland. If made, it was not granted; and Dr. Smith had no vote in the Convention, because there was no lay delegate from Maryland, which made the representation of the State incomplete.

though he had no personal interest in the
nurch. He accompanied the bishops elect to
e day after their call upon him, and presented
on to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, in
f Bishop White,[1] "in this particular, and in
ce in which his personal attentions could be
or an evidence of his respect and kindness,
manifest his concern for the interests of a
hich he was not a member." Dr. Lowth,
ondon, was also visited in his feebleness; and,
nterviews with the bishops and other clergy,
uld write, early in December, to the standing
f Pennsylvania, that there was "not the least
church's having retained the essential doc-
gospel as held by the Church of England."
dicated of the position held by the "Proposed
mended by the insertion of the unmutilated

men who have come over that I am glad of the present opportunity of serving the interests of religion."

At last the prescribed formalities were completed, and the eventful day, so long desired, dawned. It was Septuagesima Sunday, February 4, 1787. A little company assembled in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, consisting chiefly of the archbishop's family and household, together with the officiating clergy. At Dr. White's special request, his old rector, Dr. Duché, whom he had now displaced in the rectorship of Christ Church, was present, a token of good-fellowship amid differences so characteristic of all the coming bishops' course. The sermon was preached by Dr. Drake, a chaplain of the archbishop, on 1 Corinthians xiv. 10, and, as Dr. White relates, "had very little reference to the peculiarity of the occasion." Another chaplain read the prayers. It seemed like a private service of the archbishop, with the consecration added. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. John Moore, was the consecrator. The Archbishop of York, Dr. William Markham, was the presenter. The Bishop of Bath and Wells,[1] Dr. Charles More, and the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. John Wickliffe, joined in the imposition of hands. Dr. White, though the younger man and clergyman, and whose election to the bishopric was subsequent to that of Dr. Provoost, was ordained first,[2] because of the English custom of awarding priority to the one who had longest been Doctor of Divinity. Bishop White's doctorate had preceded Bishop Provoost's by several years, and thus he became the first bishop of the English succession in the

[1] As the Bishop of Bath and Wells had been the most strenuous in his insistence on restoring the omitted article of the Apostles' Creed in the "Proposed Book," it was particularly gratifying to the new bishops to have, in his participation in the service, an evidence of his satisfaction and confidence.

[2] See Perry, "History of American Episcopal Church," vol. ii., p. 74, note.

States, and patriarch of the Protestant Episcopal

entous as was the service of this day, it seemed like a family gathering. The quiet and seclusion upper chamber from which the apostles went forth d with the Holy Ghost pervaded the whole proceed- s significance was, of course, dimly apprehended chief actors, for they had not the gift of prophecy; se who received their commission thus quietly felt weight of the occasion, and recorded their prayers 's blessing upon it.

the family service came the family dinner with the hop, in which all the bishops, old and new, partici- and after strong words of gratitude and confidence sides, the young American prelates took their final nd the very next day set out for Falmouth, whence ere to sail for home. Though they reached Fal- on the 10th of the month, they were detained by

is nothing I have more at heart than to see the members of our communion throughout the United States connected in one system of ecclesiastical government," and showing a disposition to accommodate the revision of the liturgy to a general sentiment, stood firmly by the principles of the ecclesiastical constitution already proposed, especially its feature of lay representation. He pointed out that the approbation of all the Conventions southward, and the acquiescence of the English archbishops and bishops who had consecrated the authors of it, indicated that union could only come along that constitutional line. There were also very friendly and earnest letters from Dr. Leaming of Connecticut and Dr. Parker of Boston, all contemplating union, but not silent concerning obstacles in the way.

It had been recognized by the Connecticut clergy, just after the consecrations in England, what a strong advantage would be conferred on the constitutional party by the presence of two bishops in America with the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Canterbury's official act and sanction. They met, therefore, at Wallingford, February 27th, on the call of Bishop Seabury, about three weeks after the English consecrations had taken place, and when the returning prelates were a week out on their return voyage. Then and there they chose, first, Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, and on his declining, Rev. Richard Mansfield, of Derby, and on his refusal, Rev. Abraham Jarvis, as coadjutor Bishop of Connecticut. There was no need of an extra bishop, save, to use the words of Rev. Samuel (afterward Bishop) Jarvis, "to obtain the canonical number of bishops in New England of the Scottish line." Bishop Seabury was very frank about the matter; and in the letter which he wrote to the Scotch Bishop Skinner, asking his coöperation, he expressed himself as "very

nsive that, should it please God to take me out of
ld, the same spirit of innovation in the government
rgy of the church would be apt to rise in this State
nas done so much mischief in our neighborhood.
nould this see become vacant, the clergy may find
ves under the fatal necessity of falling under the
n Establishment." Bishop Skinner replied, on the
his Episcopal brethren, deprecating the proposed
but indicating a willingness to act in case "these
hops either refuse to hold communion with you, or
only on terms with which you cannot in conscience
" [1]

ures were also started to secure the election of
muel Parker, of Boston, to the bishopric of Massa-
and New Hampshire (in which region there were
clergymen), to be similarly consecrated, so that in
ngland the Episcopal college in the Scottish line

yielded to this request would have been to yield the whole question.

Whether cognizant of what had occurred in Connecticut or not, Bishop White was steadfast in his refusal to have Dr. Griffith, of Virginia, consecrated in this country before the full number of three bishops should have been completed in the English line. Virginia had suggested it, and in the inability of Dr. Griffith (by reason of personal poverty and the slackness of subscriptions to meet his expenses) to go to England, the irregularity might have been overlooked. But instead of this, Bishop White urged upon Mr. Parker, of Boston, that a suitable presbyter be selected for Bishop of Massachusetts and sent to England for consecration. He assigned as a reason "the effecting of a junction with our brethren of Connecticut, who would thus have a bishop of the English succession of their own ecclesiastical views, and with the three thus consecrated Bishop Seabury could coöperate." In the meantime Bishop Seabury was magnifying his office in his diocese. He held many and large confirmations. He ordained a number of priests and deacons. In September, 1787, he consecrated the new Church of St. James at New London, of which he was rector, with great pomp, wearing his scarlet doctor's hood, and, for the first time, a miter, which he had imported, and which he wore afterward only on very stately occasions.[1] He caused a temporary coolness between himself and Mr. Parker by seeming to assume too impressive a manner, and acted at this time as if impelled to vindicate an office and authority whose validity Bishop

[1] "He did not use the miter at first, nor did he bring one with him when he came home after his consecration; but, when he found many of the non-Episcopal ministers about him disposed to adopt the title of 'bishop' in derision of his claims, he adopted a miter as a badge of office which they would hardly be disposed to imitate." (See Hallam, "Annals of St. James's Church, New London," p. 73.)

nd others ventured to doubt, if not assail. It here an unhappy time. The theological waters ed, and not by the stirring of an angel.

o months after the consecration of Bishop Sea- rch, King's Chapel, the oldest Episcopal church became irrevocably Unitarian. This change much an illustration of the transformation of an ecclesiastical analogy to the habits of the . A new occupant of an old institution character while retaining its form. When the ps occupied Boston they turned the Old South use into a riding-school. After their departure essed congregation moved bodily into King's l worshiped there until their own building could ; the rector and most of the congregation of the ing migrated to Nova Scotia on the evacuation by the British troops. During this occupancy ngregationalists the churchwardens invited Mr

worship; and they desired episcopal ordination for their minister. Mr. Freeman applied to Bishop Seabury for orders soon after his return from Scotland; but, as his profession of faith was not more definite than that he believed the Scriptures, the bishop declined to confer them. Bishop Provoost was for referring the case to the General Convention, before which it was never brought, as no further effort was made either by Mr. Freeman or his people. On Sunday, October 18, 1787, after evening service, the senior warden, acting (according to genuine Congregational principles) for the congregation, ordained Mr. Freeman to be "rector, minister, priest, pastor, teaching elder, and public teacher" of their society. The breach was complete. The first Unitarian society was organized in the building, and continued to hold the property, of the first Episcopal church; but it was not formed largely out of the material of the Episcopal body. The claim of the Unitarian society to the possession of the property was finally sustained by the courts, but it was not at the time unresisted. The protest was loud and clear on the part of certain of the original proprietors of the chapel. The few Episcopal clergy of Boston and its vicinity and other parts of the country, including Bishop White, joined vigorously in the protest; and the whole procedure added fuel to the flames of ecclesiastical excitement.

The political condition of the country was also greatly disturbed, and affected the atmosphere of the church as well as of the State. The year 1786 had witnessed Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts, and 1787 was occupied in the widespread, violent, and virulent discussion of the proposed Constitution of the United States throughout the country. Excitement charged the air and tended to the expression of extreme statements and the insistence on

easures. Fortunately, before the General Con-
1789, the political atmosphere cleared consider-
Constitution of the United States was finally
the nine States necessary for its ratification in
of 1788. Washington was chosen President,
augurated April 30, 1789.
lesiastical outlook also became calmer. Dr.
Boston, who had been urged by Bishop Seabury
a third bishop in the Scotch succession, and by
ite to become the third in the English succes-
sed a measure to be presented to the Conven-
he hoped would reconcile the opposing sides
n union. On June 4, 1789, he had secured the
the six presbyters of Massachusetts and Rhode
he Rev. Edward Bass, of Newburyport, to be
p; and in the "Act of the Clergy of Massa-
d New Hampshire" imparted this information

the national enthusiasm. One of their first acts was to prepare and send an address of congratulation to the President of the United States.

This Convention falls into two parts, the original assembly and its adjourned meeting in September. The first session was chiefly given to securing the union of all the Episcopal churches in the country; the second to such important legislation as a full representation of the whole church could alone adequately enact.

When the Convention first met, only the seven States previously represented were present by deputies, namely, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina; and Virginia had no clerical delegate. Seventeen clergymen, inclusive of Bishop White, and sixteen laymen constituted the body. Bishop Provoost was detained by illness at home; and, as there could be no separate House of Bishops, Bishop White was the presiding officer of the Convention. Official information was received from Virginia that Dr. Griffith had relinquished his election to the bishopric. The deputies, being called, all gave information that they came fully authorized to ratify a Book of Common Prayer. A committee was appointed on the proposed constitution and amendments to it; and then came the presentation of the "Act of the Clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire" in the election of Rev. Edward Bass to the episcopate, with the request for his consecration by the three bishops. The very full letters of Bishop Seabury to Bishop White and Rev. Dr. William Smith were laid before the Convention, upon which it was resolved unanimously "That it is the opinion of this Convention that the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury to the episcopal office is valid." So far as the Convention could act without destroying its own validity, the right hand of fellowship was now extended.

d to be seen whether the Bishop of Connecticut
sp it, seeing that the obnoxious lay element
t of the Convention which solicited his presence.
re this vote the Convention had practically set-
oint of the validity of the Scotch consecration
ing as deputies men like the Rev. Joseph
f Pennsylvania, who had been ordained by
abury. The Convention, however, went much
n either this act or the resolution recorded. It
e resolutions reported by the committee of the
whom had been referred the "Act of the Clergy
usetts and New Hampshire." These resolutions

That a complete order of bishops, derived as well
English as the Scots line of episcopacy, existed
ed States in the persons of the Bishops of Penn-
New York, and Connecticut [who were men-

The unanimous adoption of these resolutions disclosed the mind of the Convention in regard to Bishop Seabury. It was, however, a cause of embarrassment to Bishop White, who, as chairman of the Convention, could neither speak nor vote. No one was more identified with the spirit and intent of the resolutions than he. In regard to the act requested he had very serious misgivings. At the time of his consecration it had been the purpose of the archbishop to consecrate three bishops for America, in order to complete the canonical number necessary for the regular consecration of future bishops. On account of the absence of Dr. Griffith only two were consecrated; and Bishop White felt that the purpose of establishing the canonical number in the English succession ought to be fulfilled before an episcopal consecration could be ventured upon. To his mind that purpose implied a promise that it should be so. Bishop Provoost considered the promise not only implied, but pledged. Stoutly opposed to the Scotch succession, he had no hesitation in refusing the Convention's request. But White was, of all men, most anxious for the union of Seabury with the church. He was fully convinced of the validity of his orders, and yet he could not seem to disregard the intention of those at whose hands he had received consecration. The relations of the English bishops to the nonjurors were most delicate. They could not legally recognize those who were proscribed by the state. He did not wish, therefore, that they should be asked to decide the question started by the Convention. Delicacy forbade its being brought before them. In justice to them no consecration ought to take place until three bishops in the Anglican line could take part in it; otherwise they might be brought into political complications at home. The mind of the committee, however, had been fully revealed, and the way laid open

They went further still. They enacted a canons,[1] which showed marked respect to the ice. They adopted the constitution, with such n that of 1786 as allowed (in Section II.) a n of a church by clerical members only, and II.) provided for a special and separate House hen there should be three of that order. This as a house of revision for acts passed in the vention, and its non-concurrence could defeat nless overcome by a three-fifths vote of the lerical and Lay Deputies. This, though it n comparison with subsequent legislation, was vance on the positions of the past.

ress to the archbishops and bishops of the rch, asking for their concurrence in the pro- ration of a bishop for Massachusetts and New by the three bishops, contained a full account etters and proceedings connected with the

Parker and the Eastern clergy, to answer Dr. Seabury's letters, and to forward to him, as well as to the archbishops, the minutes of the Convention, and to notify him and the Eastern clergy, not represented in the Convention, of the time and place of its adjournment, and to invite them to attend at its next session. The Convention then adjourned, August 8th, to meet September 29th, requesting Bishop Provoost, who had hitherto been absent, to preach the opening sermon at the coming session.

The thirteen days of the session had caused the spirit of union to grow apace. No sooner had the adjournment taken place than both the committee of correspondence and the Rev. Dr. Smith personally communicated to Bishop Seabury what had been done, pointing out the special features of legislation intended to conciliate him and smooth the way for his union with the Convention, and expressing their most cordial wishes for so propitious a result. The Bishop of Connecticut could no longer hesitate. He had not gained all he wanted, nor all that he thought important for the welfare of the church; but he clearly saw in the disposition manifested by what had been done a promise of better things, according to his notion, in the future. He perceived, with the New England shrewdness in which he was not deficient, that the power of the church and the influence of its bishops would be increased a hundredfold by such a union as was now possible, over a provincial Scottish New England hierarchy, with the real successor of the English Church standing as a rival in the Middle and Southern States. Ardent Tory as he was, the appeal to nationalism at last found echo in his mind and heart. He could hope, at least, to preserve the one church from ecclesiastical disintegration, with which he feared it was threatened at the

and perchance, after his death, at the North; and
d try, at least, to mold its manners and amend its

wrote at once to Bishop White on receipt of the
nication, "I will, God permitting, most willingly
u at your adjourned Convention the 29th of Sep-
." He promised, if possible, to bring a couple of
deputies, and expressed himself cordially to both
respondents.

op Provoost, on the other hand, was much offended
smayed. He declared that the New York dep-
ad gone contrary to their instructions in favoring
stitutional provision allowing a church to be rep-
d by clerical deputies only, and by signing the
s to the English prelates, asking sanction for allow-
bishop of Scotch consecration to act as the third
in consecrating Mr. Bass. He declared that the

pose" acts for the concurrence of the House of Deputies, and also "a negative on the acts of the House of Deputies, unless adhered to by them by a four-fifths vote." It was also resolved to advise the several State Conventions that the next General Convention would consider the propriety of conferring on the House of Bishops a full veto power over the proceedings of the House of Deputies. This occurred on the third day of the Convention (October 2); and on the same day the Bishop of Connecticut, with the two clerical delegates from that State, together with the clerical delegate from Massachusetts and New Hampshire, signed the following statement: "We do hereby agree to the constitution of the church, as modified this day in Convention." This act occurred in the State-house, where the Constitution of the United States had been previously signed; the Convention having the day before removed its sitting from Christ Church to that place with the permission of the president of the State.

Thus, by the ordering of Providence, out from the walls already consecrated to political liberty and union there came forth a national church committed to conserve religious liberty by its union, and engaged to discard and disown the perpetuation and incorporation of separate ecclesiastical cliques, set to emphasize disagreement and to stir up strife. The whole history of the proceedings which led up to this happy consummation indicates the nature of the ecclesiastical organization to which our fathers set their seal. Its realization would have been impossible without the submerging of mutual differences and the recognition of mutual rights. Theirs was in its true sense the church idea of unity regnant amid diversity, in contradistinction to the sect idea of unity submerged in diversity. This idea it guarded in its constitution and guaranteed to all who accepted its fundamental features. Within the realm

proscription of parties is valid while those
ize its law. The divergent tendencies exist-
ho framed the ecclesiastical body have often
eloped in extreme antagonism; but no right
one party by another is recognized by the
hich binds them both together. Loyalty is
by opinions, nor dependent upon theories.
and theological variations are legally permis-
s the creeds and the constitution are not con-
berty and union are the watchwords of the
as of the State.

ter the accession of New England to the
nvention met in two houses, the House of
he House of Deputies. Three bishops now
the absence of one of them was not held
right of the other two to meet apart from
use. On Monday, the 5th of October, 1789,

peace and permanence which followed were quite as much the result of moral earnestness and spiritual devotion as of polemic argument or ecclesiastical assertion.[1]

The chief business of both houses was now the final preparation of a Prayer-book. No effort for the acceptance of the "Proposed Book" was made. Dr. Parker, of Massachusetts, representing as he did the general sentiment at the North, though one of the few who had largely used the "Proposed Book," urged that the English Prayer-book should be made the ground of the proceedings, without any reference to the book tentatively set forth in 1785. This course was not formally adopted, the resolutions being so worded as to imply that there was no book of authority in existence. This Bishop White deemed discourteous to the "Proposed Book," which had been recommended, and in one service used, by a previous Convention; and dangerous, as it involved liberty for a complete and independent construction of a liturgy, instead of the alteration of one already existent. It also changed the force of a negative of the bishops to any proposed office. For the veto of a wholly new office involved the exclusion of any office for that occasion; whereas the veto of a proposed alteration of an existing office would simply have the force of retaining the office in its original form. All danger was averted by the general disposition of the committee to depart as little as possible from the English Prayer-book, though theoretically they proceeded to make a book, not to alter one.

The preparation of a Prayer-book was assigned to five committees: one on the Calendar and Tables of Lessons,

[1] Outside the Convention there was a threatened disturbance of the harmony within from the objections of some deputies to Bishop Seabury as the recipient of a pension as former chaplain in the British army. Bishop White quieted the matter by showing that it involved no civil disability, and should not, therefore, prove an ecclesiastical obstacle.

Collects, Epistles, and Gospels; another on the and Evening Service; a third on the Litany and al Prayers and Thanksgivings; a fourth on the r the Administration of the Holy Communion; th to report in what manner the Psalms should

The reports of each committee, when adopted, nsmitted to the House of Bishops, from whence e returned with amendments. From the bishops eived, in the first instance, the various special be adopted for use in the American church. rations, other than those of a political nature, were erbal, together with the omission of repetitions; tion of Selections of Psalms, to be used at the n of the minister; an Office for the Visitation of s, from the Irish Prayer-book; a service of Prayer nksgiving for the Fruits of the Earth, from the ed Book"; and an Order of Family Prayer. Be-se Bishop Seabury secured in the Order for the

never to read it, was willing to concede to the Bishop and clergy of Connecticut the right to print it in the Prayer-book, with a rubric permissive of its use. The Lower House would not have it in any shape.

A number of rubrics of the English Prayer-book were omitted, not as impugning their propriety for England, but as indicating that they cease to have the force of law for America.[1] The two most conspicuous instances of these omissions are the celebrated Ornaments Rubric, which was then obsolete or obsolescent in the English Church, and the so-called Black Rubric, concerning the adoration of the elements, at the end of the Communion Office. Too great reverence for the sacraments, or too frequent use of the service, were not the dangers prevalent in America at that time; and no one then dreamed of the restoration of vestments and ornaments which has since been made by the modern construction of the Ornaments Rubric. The happy deliverance of the Episcopal Church in America from dependence on the decisions of English ecclesiastical courts in such matters was achieved by a simple omission of the rubric from the formularies. These omissions, and other special features of the Prayer-book as now adopted,

[1] Hon. Murray Hoffman, in "The Ritual Law of the Church," p. 135, takes this position in regard to the Ornaments Rubric: "But our church in 1789 omitted this rubric. Nothing can be more clear than that such omission was equivalent to a declaration that it should not constitute part of our law."

The only rules concerning clerical vestments adopted by this first or any other General Convention are included in the rubrics in the Form of Ordaining or Consecrating a Bishop, and those of Making Deacons and Ordering Priests. In regard to the bishop, the rochet is prescribed, and then the rest of the episcopal habit, referring to the costume universally prevalent then in the Anglican communion. In regard to candidates for the diaconate or priesthood, it is simply said, "Each of them being decently habited." This is a phrase which is capable of wide construction, but in its time and place it referred apparently to the surplice or gown and bands, then the universal vestments of the clergy, and which were referred to as the proper ecclesiastical apparel of officiating clergymen by the House of Bishops in 1814. (See "Half-century of Legislation," vol. i., p. 431.)

y that the changes involved were not consid-
inconsistent with the declaration, in the admi-
ce,[1] that "this church is far from intending to
the Church of England in any essential point
discipline, or worship, or further than what
es require"; they are merely special instances
cise of the right claimed, in the same preface,
h such other alterations and amendments therein
deemed proper."

e sentiment appeared later, when, in the Con-
1814, the identity of the Protestant Episcopal
the Church of England was declared, in which
it is said: "The church conceives herself as
and acting on the principles of the Church of
. . but it would be contrary to fact were any
that the discipline exercised in this church, or
oceedings therein, are at all dependent on the

set forth; the canons were increased by the enactment of eight, requiring the exclusive use of the Prayer-book as established, stating the duty of the clergy in regard to episcopal visitations, directing the censure of notorious crimes and scandals, enforcing the sober conversation required in ministers, providing for the due celebration of Sundays, the preparation of a regular list of the clergymen of the church, and giving notice of the induction and dismission of incumbents.[1]

By far the most influential and significant change in the Prayer-book was by way of addition. It occurred in the most sacred office of all, the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion, and was the work of Bishop Seabury, being the result of his concordat with the Scotch bishops, his consecrators. It consisted in placing the words of Oblation and Invocation immediately after the words of Institution, giving a completeness to the office which not only adds greatly to its solemnity and beauty, but also gives clearness to the doctrine embodied in it. The Invocation comes after the Oblation, and clearly discriminates

[1] One or two minor changes in the service are indicative of special and local consideration. The Litany is appointed to be read after the Prayer for the President. This is said to have been the act of Rev. Dr. William Smith, to whom the preparation of the book was intrusted. The reason given was that President Washington never attended church of an afternoon, and so would never hear the prayer if the Litany came in before it. Another reason may have well suggested the unauthorized change, the fact being that, unlike the English service, there is no suffrage for the President in the American Litany, and no prayers for rulers in the "Antecommunion Office," save in the Prayer for the Church Militant, not always used. To secure constant prayer for the President the collect must invariably form part of the Order of Morning Prayer.

The rubric allowing the use of the "Antecommunion Office" "where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said," as well as "at the right side of the Table," is said to have been put in for the accommodation of Bishop White, the chancel of St. Peter's Church, where he officiated, being at the east end of the church, while the reading-desk and pulpit are at the west end. To be saved the conspicuous walk along the broad aisle would be consonant with the shyness and modesty of Bishop White, and so the rubric was made to read as at present.

t of consecration from transubstantiation, by call-
elements already consecrated and offered "thy
s of bread and wine," and supplicating the aid of
y Spirit that the partaking of the outward sign
effectual to the reception of the inward reality sig-
It is by word and act the practical realization of
rine of the Catechism and the Articles that "the
Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper
er an heavenly and spiritual manner."

Convention of 1789 adjourned on the 16th of Octo-
r appointing a standing committee authorized to
end to the bishops the calling of special meetings
onvention, if necessary, and recording their opinion
bishops have a right to call special Conventions
ey think proper.

djournment thus found the church fully organized.
nvention in both houses had established its con-

CHAPTER XIV.

A PERIOD OF SUSPENDED ANIMATION AND FEEBLE GROWTH (1789–1811).

THE history of the Protestant Episcopal Church after its complete organization in 1789 falls naturally into four periods. The first, extending from 1789 to 1811, may not inaptly be styled "A Period of Suspended Animation"; the second, from 1811 to 1836, "A Period of Aroused Self-consciousness and Aggression"; the third, from 1836 to 1865, "A Period of Internal Conflict," arising from vigorous life and mutual misconception; the fourth, from 1865 to 1895, "A Period of Positive Advance," founded on mutual recognition.

The first period, from 1789 to 1811, which we have entitled "A Period of Suspended Animation," was not without its marked features, nor was it altogether devoid of important action. The bishops and deputies, clerical and lay, did not return to their homes from Philadelphia simply to congratulate themselves that a church had been organized. But the temper of the time and the profound difficulty of adapting new institutions to the crude conditions of a new nation were shared alike by church and state. The political atmosphere was charged with political passion. The administrations of Washington and Adams and Jefferson were rife with personal acrimony and turbulent partisanship. Even the Presidents and their associated counselors did not escape the shafts of malice and detraction. It was

orm and stress" period of a young nation which understand how to adapt its inherent forces to its session of authority, and whose inexperience and ated enthusiasm deprived it of the calmness and which are the issue of established character and ed achievement. An intense and unusual interest cs absorbed the public mind. The church was re- far back into the shadow. The spirit of irreligion delity, moreover, was widespread, a not unnatural f eight years of war and of the incoming of conti- nfluences. Paine represented the vulgar, and Jeffer- philosophical skepticism. All ranks of life felt the ing influence. To hold its own was in itself an ment for the church.

Protestant Episcopal Church, notwithstanding its ne and constitution, was popularly regarded as an institution, and distrusted or hated accordingly.

cipline in regard to the conduct of communicants, than the Episcopal Church offered. The prevailing religious temper was largely subjective. The liturgical tone of the church was largely objective. The very features which constitute its abiding value and influence tended in this period to depreciate both.

And it cannot be said that the church was only misunderstood. Its own faults, as well as popular misapprehension, hindered its advance. It was nowhere a type of vigorous earnestness or aggressive spirituality. It was defending its right to be by its antecedents, instead of proving its right to be by its apostolic fervor and practical achievements. It stood by its guns, but it did not train them effectively on the enemies of ungodliness and unbelief. The energy which had brought the child to the birth seemed unequal to its nurture and training. The church's course for a long period was marked with all the obstinacy of a weak mind and a strong constitution. The preaching of the clergy was ethical rather than spiritual. The departure of the Methodists at the South had left the church there in a sort of respectable torpor; and the Congregationalists and Presbyterians of the Western and Middle States stood aloof on both patriotic and ecclesiastical grounds. No summons to the church was likely to be listened to which, like that of the loyalist Bishop Seabury to the patriotic Congregationalists of Connecticut, called on them to "relinquish the errors their fathers had through prejudice most unhappily imbibed."

The records of the General Conventions of this period show the paucity of growth by the slender representation of the churches. The two bishops and twenty clergymen and sixteen laymen of the Convention of 1789 are augmented by only five clergymen and four laymen in the Convention of 1811, a period of twenty-one years. The

bishops had been increased from time to time, attendance had only once been as large as five; lerical representatives up to 1811 had but once twenty, while the lay delegates had rarely ex- lf a score. An epidemic had cut off the repre- of New England from the Convention of 1795. cause prevented a meeting of Convention in reduced the attendance at the special Conven- 99. In fact, the General Convention, which it so much to constitute and inaugurate, lagged of interest, begotten of the debilitated condition rches in the several States.

ondition was in many regions deplorable, espe- t the South, where the church had once been In May, 1790, Virginia elected Rev. James D.D., president of the College of William and hop of the church in that State; and he went nd, where he was consecrated September 19,

the bishops agreed to, but which the Lower House rejected as disorganizing. In his own diocese he had seen the spiritual depletion of the church following the departure of the Methodists from it; and, marking the low ebb of religion everywhere, he longed for the union of all believers as a means of resisting and overcoming the indifference and ungodliness of the times. In his own Diocesan Convention of 1793 he referred to his rejected scheme with regret, and spoke of union and comprehension quite in the modern spirit of the Chicago Convention and the Lambeth Conference. His counsels and his labors, though aided by many earnest clergy and faithful laity, were not generally effective. The spoliation of the church by the selling of the glebes for the benefit of the State was accomplished in 1802, and seemed to take all heart out of the communion. The clergy were impoverished. Church buildings and communion-plate and baptismal fonts met, though without legal warrant, the fate of the glebes. The ministry diminished in number, services ceased to be held, and the old church lost her hold on her children. The lethargy of despair ensued. The bishop himself, noble man that he was, lost heart. He busied himself with his college duties, and gradually discontinued the visitation of his diocese. From 1805 to 1812 no Convention was held in Virginia. When the parishes became vacant they remained so for lack of clergy. Only one ordination, and that an unworthy one, had taken place in many years. Chief-Justice Marshall, a devout churchman, thought the church too far gone ever to be revived; and when Mr. William Meade offered himself at Williamsburg in 1811 for ordination, universal surprise was expressed that a gentleman, college bred, should apply for orders. A party of family relatives, consisting of two ladies and fifteen gentlemen, formed the entire congregation at the ordination

The students, with dogs and guns, passed the
ted church scornfully by, bent on the chase, hav-
ently debated the questions "whether there be a
and "whether Christianity had been injurious or
ial to mankind." When, after Bishop Madison's
n 1812, a special Convention was assembled in 1813
a successor, only seven clergy and eighteen lay-
presentative of fourteen parishes, could be gathered
r.

nia was the most flagrant illustration of church de-
ut other regions of the South were not much more
. In Maryland and Delaware nearly half the par-
ere vacant. A spirit of indifference to religion was
here manifest. Never were ministers more needed;
ere they more difficult to obtain. There were no
ies to educate them; and clerical support in par-
hen it existed at all, was most meager.

land in 1702 elected a bishop in the person of Rev.

New York, September 12, 1792, all the bishops joining in the imposition of hands, and thus completing the recognition of the Scotch consecration, and joining the orders so obtained to all subsequent American ordinations.

This fifth bishop in the United States, and first of Maryland, could not accomplish much in his diocese. He was laborious and earnest both as a diocesan and a rector, which two offices he held together; and he was born and bred in Maryland, and thoroughly understood the situation, but the crudities of the time and place were not to be conquered in one episcopate. Later, indeed, violent dissensions broke out, after Bishop Claggett had gone to his rest.

In North Carolina, farther south, efforts were made, at the suggestion of Bishop White, to organize the church as early as 1790; but no Convention was held in the State until late in 1793, when three clergymen and three laymen met together at Tawborough. The state of the church was represented by them as "truly deplorable, from the paucity of the clergy and the multiplicity of opposing sectarians." The next year (1794) a constitution was prepared and a bishop elected, namely, the Rev. Charles Pettigrew, who was never consecrated. On his way to the General Convention of 1795 he was stopped by an epidemic fever in Norfolk, and, returning home, shortly after died. The revival of the church in North Carolina was, in consequence, long deferred, and not until 1817 were the foundations laid for its restoration.

South Carolina was more fortunate in regard to an early episcopate, as she had been in the earlier colonial church settlement. The diocese, as we have seen, had entered into alliance with the General Convention on the condition that no bishop was to be established in that State. In 1795 the very same clergyman, Rev. Robert Smith, D.D., who

red that motion, in order to gain at all hazards
to the National Movement, was elected Bishop
Carolina, and was consecrated in Christ Church,
hia, September 18th of the same year. He un-
y kept the church alive and together; but he was
ty-five years of age, and could not push matters
n so distrustful a church community. He is said
have administered the rite of confirmation; and
no Conventions were held in the State from 1798
04. In the meantime Bishop Smith had died in
A successor was unanimously elected in 1804, the
ward Jenkins, D.D., but he declined the honor;
1812 the bishopric remained vacant.

ia made no sign at this period. Even in 1811,
v. Mr. Burton presented to the General Conven-
ertificate of his appointment as deputy by the
and vestry of the Episcopal church in Savannah,

The church in Pennsylvania at this period was mostly the church in Philadelphia, and this was flourishing. The character and station of Bishop White, and the dignified edifices of Christ Church parish, caused it to command respect and influence. It was not popular with the middle and lower classes. It was rather the church of the aristocracy. The attendance on its worship of President Washington and many distinguished members of the Continental Congress gave it prestige. This, however, did not bring it into touch with the people. It kept the appearance of a church for a special class, and its regulated worship and unenthusiastic preaching removed it far from the popular sympathy. But Philadelphia was the chief city of the country, and the church in Philadelphia represented a most dignified and influential portion of the community.

In New York, in spite of the wealth and prestige of Trinity parish, there was little ardor of church life. The scars of the Revolution had gone too deep. The bishop had been elected as a patriot, and his national ardor far outran his ecclesiastical zeal. He thought that tolerance to his communion was all that could be expected in view of its political history, and tolerance was consequently all that it received. Neither his ecclesiastical nor theological principles were firm or aggressive. He was a bishop of the type of the Georgian era. His interest was in his studies rather than in his diocese. He was an accomplished scholar and a good botanist; and on the death of his wife, which was to him a most terrible affliction, he resigned his jurisdiction and retired from the duties of his office.[1] This was in

[1] The minute of the House of Bishops in regard to Bishop Provoost's letter informing them of his resignation is as follows:

"The House of Bishops having considered the subject brought before them by the letter of Bishop Provoost, and by the message from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies touching the same, can see no grounds on which to believe that the contemplated resignation is consistent with ecclesiastical

nder so lukewarm a diocesan the diocese could y advance. In fact, Bishop Provoost thought it out with the old colonial families. Such prog- s made came rather from the vis inertiæ of the stem than the efficiency of its leadership. Some ations were held; some few churches, as that at rg (the gift of a private individual, Hon. James nd that at Ballston, and St. Mark's in the Bowery y Mr. Stuyvesant, a great-grandson of the last ernor), were consecrated.

as a movement of the Lutherans in the State of to join the Episcopal Church in 1797; but the n to which the proposition was to be referred unately delayed by the prevalence of the yellow could not meet until 1801. At that time the n of Bishop Provoost occupied all the attention given to ecclesiastical affairs, and a great move- hurch comprehension passed unheeded by. It

officers, and congregation) Episcopal, having previously sent out an offshoot in St. Stephen's Church to the same communion. Such movements were, however, due more to the attractiveness of the church, as possessed of an English liturgy, than to the solicitation or interest of the members of the Episcopal community.[1]

The Rev. Benjamin Moore, D.D., rector of Trinity Church, was unanimously elected bishop of the diocese the day after Bishop Provoost's resignation. The House of Bishops consented to consecrate him as "assistant or coadjutor bishop during Bishop Provoost's life," demurring to the validity of the resignation, but recognizing the necessity of putting some one at the head of the diocese. The Diocesan Convention, however, had not elected him as coadjutor, and paid no attention to the intimation of the bishops. Bishop Moore always acted, and the "Journal" of the Convention always referred to him, as "head of the church in New York." He was a man of mild manners and of gentle speech, thoroughly Christian in his temper as in his life; one who without aggressiveness commended the church in his own person to the confidence of the public; not fitted so much to arouse enthusiasm as to win

[1] The trend toward the Episcopal Church among the Germans in New York was fostered, if not started, by the determination of the Lutherans to conduct their services in the German language only. The children, growing up to speak English, were impatient of the custom. When, in 1797, "The Trustees for the English Lutheran Church in the City of New York" were incorporated, and had informed the evangelical Ministerium meeting at Rhinebeck of their action, and the reasons for it, the Lutheran Consistory, in set resolutions, declared "that they do not look upon persons who are not yet communicants of a Lutheran church as apostates in case they join an English Episcopalian church," but "that this Consistory will never acknowledge a new-erected Lutheran church merely English, in places where members may partake of the services of the said Episcopal Church." This resolve they based on the "intimate connection subsisting between the English Episcopal Church and the Lutheran Church, and the identity of their doctrine and near alliance of their church discipline." (See "History of the Church of Zion and St. Timothy of New York," by David Clarkson [1894], pp. 5, 6.)

it. Perhaps, in that formative time, it was its stand still.

hboring diocese of New Jersey was also far from Some smoldering life and organization it had, 1790 a standing committee of clergy and laity commending of candidates for holy orders," and lhesion to the proceedings of the General Con- 789 in establishing the constitution, the canons, yer-book. It had no bishop of its own at this gh it made an attempt to secure one by elect- 6 the Rev. Uzal Ogden, D.D., rector of Trin- Newark, to the episcopate. This choice was rmed, the General Convention complaining of s in the election. Before these could be recti- astical irregularities on the part of the candidate ne conviction that he was nearer allied in opinion hy with the Presbyterians, whom he afterward

once the worthiness and narrowness of his presbyter.[1] The bishop, in fine, acted fully up to his implied stipulations in joining the national church. Though it was not in the bond, lay delegates were introduced into the State Convention of 1792, although, even up to the present time, the laity have not been represented in the standing committee of the diocese.

In 1790 Rhode Island had formally put itself under Bishop Seabury's jurisdiction; and he made regular visitations to the four parishes which remained there, and which, though few in numbers, gave him no little trouble with their feuds. He was thoroughly diligent and spared himself no labor. He was as loyal to the new church as he had been to the old king. He was prevented from taking part in any but one General Convention after 1789 (that of 1792, when he assisted at the consecration of Bishop Claggett); for an epidemic cut him off from that of 1795, held in Philadelphia, and shortly afterward he died. A stroke of apoplexy, February 25, 1796, brought his life and labors to an end together. It was the removal of a marked man, whose resolute devotion to his convictions enabled him to secure an influence larger than his mental equipment would seem to warrant. He was not, indeed, intellectually deficient. He had a fair measure of learning and a larger endowment of both wisdom and wit;[2] but the

[1] He is supposed to have yielded; but his hold on his parishioners, and their awe of him, is shown in their vote at a parish meeting held April 9, 1792, of which what follows is a record:

"Past a vote to adopt the new constitution or liturgy of the church, as agreed upon by the bishop and clergy of this State, *provided that it is agreeable to Rev. Mr. Dibblee.*"

[2] He was desirous of retaining in the Prayer for the President the sonorous phrase "health and wealth," instead of the substituted "health and prosperity." Dining with Bishop White after the change had been determined, he said to the latter's wife, "Hereafter I suppose I must address your husband as Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Common Prosperity of Pennsylvania." (Beardsley, "Life of Seabury," p. 381.)

his power lay in his unswerving loyalty to princi-
as genuine grit which gained him both station and
and his impress on the church he served is indelible.
succeeded in office by the Rev. Abraham Jarvis,
o was thrice elected bishop, and finally accepted
being consecrated in Trinity Church, New Haven,
8, 1797, by Bishops White, Provoost, and Bass.
opate was a quiet one of sixteen years, during
strengthened the foundations of the Episcopal
at Cheshire, which Bishop Seabury had estab-
792, and also started the "Churchman's Maga-
804, contributing in both these measures to the
anding of the church.

ssachusetts and the rest of New England this
as, as elsewhere, one of an enfeebled vitality.
rd Bass, of Newburyport, who had declined his
n as bishop soon after the Convention of 1789,

it. He had been able to keep Trinity Church open during the Revolution, knowing how to be both wise and true. Being a graduate of Harvard, and a man of social station and fine manners, as well as a dignified divine, he was a marked character in the community. He became the successor of Bishop Bass, who died in 1803, and was consecrated by Bishop White in New York, at the meeting of the General Convention in 1804. Taken ill immediately on his return to Boston, he died three months after his consecration, never having performed a single episcopal act. From that time until 1810 Massachusetts was without a bishop. It then became part of the Eastern diocese, which comprised all New England outside of Connecticut, and came under Bishop Griswold's jurisdiction.[1]

It is evident that, with its several members so enfeebled, the corporate body could not be strong. The General Convention, sparsely attended, did some good things which were not great, and failed to do some great things which would have been good. In 1792 an alternate form was allowed in the ordinal in the Form and Manner of Ordering Priests, so that, in the imposition of hands in ordination, the bishop may lawfully use either. A Form of Consecration of a Church or Chapel was added to the Prayer-book in 1799; and in 1801 the Thirty-nine Articles were at last, after long delay and many fruitless attempts at amendment or substitution, "established," in order to identify the church doctrinally with the Church of England.[2] They were ap-

[1] After the death of Bishop Bass, and before the election of Bishop Parker, Judge Dudley Atkins Tyng, of Newburyport, a devout and distinguished layman, was urged, on behalf of the clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, "to receive orders as deacon and priest, that they might, with as little delay as possible, elect him their bishop." He declined the request, the only one of the kind ever made to a layman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. (See "Life of Stephen R. Tyng, D.D.," p. 21.)

[2] "The object kept in view, in all the consultations held and the determinations formed, was the perpetuating of the Episcopal Church on the ground of the general principles which she had inherited from the Church of England;

to the Prayer-book as accepted historical theolog-
ements, and as committing the church to the gen-
ctrinal position of the Church of England in re-
the controversy with Rome out of which they
but no canon concerning a special subscription to
as then, or has at any time since been, enacted.[1]
fice of Institution of Ministers (under the title of
on, afterward changed) was adopted in 1804, being
lly an office prepared in 1799 for the diocese of Con-
by Rev. Dr. William Smith, a nephew of Provost
of Philadelphia, and rector of St. Paul's Church, Nor-
Its phraseology stands out in such distinct contrast
of the rest of the Prayer-book as to emphasize the
in the old formularies of terms which this office

departing from them, except so far as either local circumstances re-
some very important cause rendered proper. To those acquainted
ystem of the Church of England it must be evident that the object
d was accomplished on the ratification of the Articles." (Bishop

alone employs. For this reason, though there is much beauty in the service, it has been less used than any other portion of the Book of Common Prayer.

The much-desired veto power was given to the House of Bishops in 1804, unfortunately too late to gratify Bishop Seabury, its chief advocate; and morals were not overlooked in the legislation of the period, which was chiefly ritual. In order to discountenance dueling, so prevalent at the time, a resolution was adopted declaring that the clergy ought not to perform the Burial Service in the case of any person who should give or accept a challenge. The adoption of the Table of Degrees of Affinity in relation to marriage, of force in the English Church, was urged by some, but it was not conceded. In its place a resolution in regard to divorce was adopted, declaring "That it is the sense of this church that it is inconsistent with the law of God; and the ministers of this church, therefore, shall not unite in matrimony any person who is divorced, unless it be on account of the other party having been guilty of adultery." Earlier than this by some years measures were proposed for evangelizing the West; and "An Act of the General Convention for Supporting Missionaries to Preach the Gospel on the Frontiers of the United States" was passed in 1792. It was not effective, but it showed an awakened spirit concerning the duty of the church in these first years of its existence. Attention was also directed to the theological education of candidates for the ministry; and in 1804 "A Course of Ecclesiastical Studies" was established by the House of Bishops in pursuance of a request made by the preceding Convention.

Many petty matters, which were the occasion of sound legislation, vexed the minds of the bishops and deputies from time to time. The Rev. Dr. Purcell, a deputy from South Carolina, had published a pamphlet entitled "Stric-

n the Love of Power in the Prelacy," leveled at Seabury for his advocacy of the veto power of the of Bishops. When brought to the notice of the of Deputies by Rev. Dr. Andrews, of Virginia, it ndemned as containing "very offensive and censur- atter." Dr. Purcell apologized, but, after the ad- ent of the Convention, he challenged his brother nan to fight a duel, and was bound over to keep ce by the civil courts. Rev. Ammi Rogers caused exation by his persistent demands to be recognized nstated in the ministry after most reprehensible be- Rejected as a candidate by Bishop Seabury, he had d from Connecticut to New York, and, applying to Provoost for ordination, had forged the signature of retary of the Connecticut Convention to a testimo- his behalf. This certificate, being deemed genuine, his ordination in New York. On moving back

had not for twenty years resided in Vermont, nor exercised his ministry anywhere, and was now abroad, having unsuccessfully applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury for consecration, and having announced his purpose to apply to the Scotch bishops. There was but one Episcopal clergyman in Vermont, and he there temporarily; and the election had been compassed by "the Episcopalians (twelve in number) of Vermont, united with a body of those not previously of that communion."[1] The request was refused on the ground that Vermont had not acceded to the constitution of the church. The result of this request was the enactment of a canon providing that the church in a State shall not be entitled to a resident bishop unless there shall be at least six presbyters residing and officiating therein. Another canon, growing out of an existing abuse, was enacted, forbidding the union of a congregation in one diocese with the church in any other jurisdiction.

These instances of personal baseness and effrontery would not deserve record save for the light which they throw on the difficulties which the newly established church was called to encounter. It was a period in which she was learning to understand herself, and to gather her forces together in the midst of misapprehension from without and of many insidious attempts to impose upon her from within. Caution was a virtue to be cherished then; not the highest of virtues, but the necessary precursor of higher. And this explains, if it does not wholly excuse, the hesitancy or indifference of the church to the movements made to comprehend the recently removed Methodists within the fold. This was the great mistake of this period, whose results are felt forcibly to-day. Could that union have then occurred, both parties to it would have immensely benefited, and the influence of these united

[1] Sprague, "Annals of the American Pulpit," vol. v., p. 195.

vould have constituted the great Christian power
ontinent. But no one had the gift of prophecy.
atism appeared to be the sole safeguard of the
and unregulated evangelization the sole duty of the
ists. Bishop Madison, as we have seen, had a keen
the dangers of a permanent disruption, and a
ope that it might be overcome. In the General
tion of 1792 he had offered a proposition to that
This proposition, as agreed to by the House of
, was as follows:

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States
rica, ever bearing in mind the sacred obligation
ttends all the followers of Christ to avoid divisions
themselves, and anxious to promote that union for
our Lord and Saviour so earnestly prayed, do
declare to the Christian world that, uninfluenced
other considerations than those of duty as Chris-

Deputies; but, although a few gentlemen who were cognizant of the correspondence between Dr. Coke and Bishop White favored its consideration, it was generally regarded as "preposterous," and as "tending to produce distrust of the stability of the system of the Episcopal Church, without the least prospect of embracing any other religious body." Agreeably to leave granted "as a matter of indulgence," the bishops withdrew the proposition, which constituted the earliest recorded document bearing upon the questions of church unity and comprehension, which have from time to time agitated the Episcopal communion.

The reference to a correspondence between Dr. Coke and Bishop White gives us a key to the understanding of the whole matter in relation to the Methodists. Since Dr. Coke's appearance in America as ordained superintendent of the Methodist societies, and his ordination of Mr. Asbury, the separation from the Episcopal Church had been complete. In the beginning of this movement Rev. Dr. West, rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, invited Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury to his house to discuss the situation; but nothing came of the interview, though Dr. Coke owned it would be more regular and consistent to "connect the succession." When Dr. White went to England for his episcopal consecration he took letters to both John and Charles Wesley from their friend, Rev. Joseph Pilmore, hoping to make some arrangement by which the Methodists might be retained in the Episcopal communion. He saw Charles Wesley, but could not meet John; and though he tried to effect something, nothing came of his efforts. The desire for the union of the two bodies may not have been general on the part of the American Methodists, but some held to it. Joseph Pilmore, one of the two preachers first sent to America by Wesley in 1769, was one of the first to be ordained by

eabury on his return. Thomas Vasey, also, one
on whom Wesley had laid hands in his chamber
when he commissioned Dr. Coke, was ordained
o White almost immediately upon his arrival from
Other Methodist preachers were ordained by
rican bishops. It was in April, 1791, that Dr.
te to Bishop White on the subject of the union
o bodies. He was fully aware of the sentiments
esley, and declared concerning him, "He went
am sure, than he would have gone if he had
e events which followed; and this I am now cer-
at he is now sorry for the separation." [1]

general outline of Dr. Coke's plan was," as
White recounts it, "a reordination of Methodist
and their continuing under the superintendence
ting, and in the practice of their peculiar institu-
here was also suggested by him the propriety,

Asbury, who had not been consulted by him. Bishop White, therefore, could do no more. Dr. Coke also wrote, after Mr. Wesley's death, to Bishop Seabury a letter[1] dated May 14, 1791, in which he embodied the proposals made to Bishop White in a form yet more distinct. "If," he says, "the two houses of the Convention of the clergy would consent to the consecration of Mr. Asbury and me as bishops of the Methodist society in the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States (or by any other title, if that were not proper), on the supposition of the reunion of the two churches, under proper mutual stipulations, and engage that the Methodist society should have a regular supply on the death of their bishop, and so *ad perpetuam*, the grand difficulty in respect to the preachers would be removed." He ends his communication by declaring, "I most cordially wish for a reunion of the Protestant Episcopal and the Methodist churches in these States. The object is of vast magnitude."[2]

It is true that, fifteen years after, when his memory seems to have become confused concerning what he had proposed, Dr. Coke changed his mind, and, in a letter to Mr. Asbury in 1808, says, "I now see that the failure of my plan, which was laid down from the purest motives, was for the best." No true advocate of church unity can agree with him. There is nothing in the plan which does not come within the scope of the Chicago-Lambeth Declaration concerning Unity; and were the Methodists of Dr. Coke's mind to-day, the union might be accomplished. At that time much stood in the way of it. On the part of the Methodists there was doubt or disbelief of the religious

[1] The original of this letter is in the possession of Professor William Seabury (great-grandson of the bishop), of the General Theological Seminary, New York. It is printed in "Facsimiles of Church Documents" (Perry).

[2] See article by Dr. Charles R. Hale, "The American Church and Methodism," in "Church Review" for January, 1891.

er of the Episcopal clergy. They deemed them erted, having the form but denying the power of ss. The plan of Dr. Coke might have pleased had he lived to hear of it; but it would not have Wesleyans, save as being the will of their founder. e's concealment of the proposal from Mr. Asbury, he greater man of the two, indicates that it was a l scheme of his own rather than the embodiment of al sentiment of the Methodists. On the part of the alians there was the difficult question of sanction- uneducated ministry (for the Methodist preachers ised from the ranks of the laity, without schol- ining), and the danger of having their newly con- l constitution exposed to a strain it might hardly to bear. On both sides, moreover, there was a genuine interest in, or comprehension of, the sub- unity. A century has developed sentiments then t or unknown. Time has added to the difficulties

Convention, small as it was, was not an harmonious one. A sharp spirit of controversy cropped out, and it seemed a house divided against itself. Bishop White wrote of it despondingly as follows:

"On a retrospect of the transactions of this Convention there is entertained the trust that it did not end without a general tendency to consolidate the communion; although, in the course of the business, there has been displayed, more than in any other Convention, the influence of some notions leading far wide of that rational devotion which this church has inherited from the Church of England. The spirit here complained of was rather moderated than raised higher during the session. But it being liable to be combined with schemes of personal consequence, there is no foreseeing to what lengths it may extend in future." [1]

[1] White, "Memoirs of the Church," p. 208.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOP HOBART TO THE DEATH OF BISHOP WHITE (1811–36).

period which now comes before us marks a distinct in the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church. tinguished at the outset by the consecration to the ate of a group of three men who had a formative e over its life and character. In after-years the advanced by the force of its own characteristics, nce these were more fully formed, more clearly

brought up under the influence and training of Bishop White in Philadelphia, by whom he was confirmed in his fifteenth year. Two years previously he had entered the College of Philadelphia, when thirteen years of age. He soon removed to Princeton, and graduated there in 1793, when eighteen years old, sharing the highest honors of his class. Here he became a tutor for a few years, pursuing theological studies under the general direction of Bishop White; and in 1798 he returned to Philadelphia, and was admitted deacon June 3d of that year. The friendship between the youthful deacon and the mature bishop was of the closest character. Much as they differed in temperament and opinions, they were always the fastest friends.

Young Hobart from the start was a favorite in the church. His intellectual gifts, his generous social disposition, and his devotion to his work early made their mark. After a few brief ministrations in small places he was called to be assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, in September, 1800, and, on taking the place, was ordained priest by Bishop Provoost, in 1801. His life as a parish priest was active and studious. He loved his books and he loved the souls of men. He loved his church, and believed in her special claims, and advocated them with an insistent fervor which drew to him at once the attention of those without and those within her fold. He soon became known as an author of devotional books, the first of which, "The Companion for the Altar," published in 1804, treated less of the nature of the sacraments than of the authority to administer them, and of the spirit in which they should be approached. This volume emphasized his views of the church and the ministry, and in its forms of devotion expressed as well the fervor of his soul. Men hesitated whether to call him a Methodist or a High-churchman. In a sense he was both. He believed in the reality of a

religion; he believed as firmly that a true in-
erience could only be rightly regulated and fed
vinely appointed order and sacraments of the
"The gospel in the church," "evangelical truth
olic order," phrases identified with his name, are
sions of his regulative ideas. All his later works
hanges upon them; all his ecclesiastical action
to propagate and fortify them. He was early
controversy by the Rev. Dr. John Mason, the
byterian divine of his day; and out of this po-
ntest came, in 1807, "An Apology for Apostolic
its Advocates," which convinced his opponent
ty and sincerity, if not of the validity of his po-
which called forth from him this extraordinary
of appreciation: "Were I compelled to intrust
of my country to any one man, that man should
lenry Hobart."

in the spring of 1811, Bishop Moore felt compelled by his increasing infirmities to call a special Convention and ask for an assistant bishop, here was the man ready for the place. He was at once elected by a majority of both orders, and with the heartfelt approbation of his diocesan.

At the General Convention of 1811, held in New Haven, his credentials were passed; but there were only two bishops, White and Jarvis, present, and the consecration had to be deferred. It seemed for a time that the church would be subjected to the necessity of again applying to the English Church for the episcopate. Bishop Moore was incapacitated by paralysis. Bishop Claggett was ill. Bishop Madison pleaded his university duties as an excuse for absence. Only Bishop Provoost remained to make up the canonical number of consecrators; but he, too, was feeble from recent illness, and his lack of sympathy with the ardent nature and ecclesiastical convictions of the bishop elect would, it was feared, prevent his emerging from his long retirement to assist at the consecration. The exigency of the occasion, however, was sufficiently evident to move him to act; and on May 29, 1811, in Trinity Church, New York, Dr. Hobart and Dr. Griswold were duly consecrated, Bishop White acting as consecrator, and Bishops Provoost and Jarvis assisting. The consecration was attended not only with difficulty, but also with opposition. "A Solemn Appeal to the Church" had been issued as a protest by the Rev. Lot Jones, a fellow assistant minister of Trinity Church, which served for some years as a firebrand to kindle an acrimonious opposition to the new prelate. Bishop Provoost, too, sought in 1812 to revive his own claim to jurisdiction, appealing to the record of the House of Bishops at the time of the consecration of Bishop Moore, and asserting his conviction that without his concurrence no episcopal act in the diocese was of

This claim was immediately and emphatically
by the New York Convention, and it was not
ged.

Hobart's episcopate, thus begun in trial and tur-
from the beginning characteristic of the man.
it in great contrast to that of both of his prede-
Their tone had been that of moderation, the
n of indifference on the one hand and of placid
he other. Hobart was the embodiment of posi-
ion and aggressive action. All the ardor of his
forth in the incessant discharge of ever-aug-
uties. He was a larger Seabury touched with
wake to the necessities and responsive to the
is time. From the day of his consecration the
Church in New York never existed on sufferance.
f apology was past. It might be liked or dis-
sed or favored; but it was henceforth recognized

There is no space to follow in detail the movements of this remarkable man. His diocese extended more than three hundred miles from east to west; but promptness and fidelity made him equal to the task of ministering to its burdensome demands. For nineteen years "he ruled it prudently with all his power." He was too ardent to be always wise; and his eagerness to establish and advance the distinguishing and determining tenets of his communion led him at times into a narrowness of judgment and action which gained him the name of bigot and aroused charges of intolerance. He had the defects of his nature. "Give me a little zealous imprudence" was with him a favorite phrase. He could suffer nothing which seemed to hinder or conflict with the position he claimed for his church. He would not join others even in an object he acknowledged to be good, lest that union of action might be construed as yielding the supreme claims of his own order. With the American Bible Society he would not affiliate, though he established one of his own. He wanted to stop the prayer-meeting of saintly Dr. Milnor, of St. George's Church, lest recognition of such extemporaneous devotion should disparage the more excellent way of the liturgy. Earnest in his study and love of the Scriptures, aflame with devotion in his soul, he could thus act in seeming contradiction to his spiritual convictions. But his jealousy for the church was not zeal for a perfunctory mechanism, nor a denial of all good outside of its ecclesiastical sphere.

His cry in advocacy of the church was, "Behold, I show you a more excellent way." A modern Parochial Mission, with its free methods, would not then have met his approval; and a Young Men's Christian Association he would doubtless have frowned upon as an unhallowed alliance. Men of his school to-day approve and patron-

The difference lies in the time and its task. he period of formation; this is the period of position. His rigidity in regard to the episco- seemed partisan and exclusive; now that epis- herished as an indispensable element of church e exclusiveness of his day is transformed into veness of our own.

Hobart was a prolific writer of sermons and nd these were able and heartfelt; but his y in his organizing faculty and in the vitality tual power. He was the originator and presid- of many societies for the advancement of the h as the Episcopal Tract Society, Sunday-school issionary Society. He headed a movement in orten and in some measure modify some of the he Prayer-book, in order to make them more d in their use more regular; and he was widely

a personal visitation and confirmed eighty-nine souls. He subsequently ordained Rev. Eleazar Williams, supposed then to be of Indian extraction, and who afterward claimed to be the Dauphin Louis XVII., to be their minister. When this missionary and many of his people were transferred to Green Bay, Wis., Bishop Hobart made an effort to visit them there; and his movements awakened the church to the need of missionary effort in what was then considered the far West.

When the General Theological Seminary finally settled in New York he accepted the professorship of pastoral theology in that institution; and the effect of his uncompromising ardor was strongly felt by his pupils, one of whom, Whittingham, afterward the distinguished Bishop of Maryland, said, "For few of God's many blessings have I so much reason to be so supremely grateful as for the day that brought me to sit at the feet of Hobart." Such was the man who made a marked impression on the church of his day. His whole life was an illustration of his latest words to his family. When starting on the final visitation, which ended in his death at Auburn, September 12, 1830, his wife urged upon him caution, saying, "You are undertaking too much;" and his answer was, "How can I do too much for Him who has done everything for me?" It was this consecration of soul which gave to his life its greatness and enduring power.

Bishop Griswold, who was consecrated at the same time with him as Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, was a man of different temperament and churchmanship from Hobart, but of as marked and influential a character. He was a type of the Evangelical Low-churchman, though he had been trained by his uncle, Rev. Roger Viets, missionary at Simsbury, Conn., who had been converted to the church while a student at Yale College, from studying books on

in the college library. His father's losses as a
the Revolution rendered it impossible for him
e at Yale as he desired; but he was thoroughly
his uncle, and was studious and unusually apt
g knowledge. The moral and religious train-
nother made him devout and earnest in religion
arly age. His religious experience was never
s, but his faith quietly penetrated his life and
whole moral organization. Like Hobart, the
ain in his blood was manifest in the persistent
f his spiritual nature.

e moving to Nova Scotia after the Revolution,
wold married and studied law, remaining in the
ry parish. Here he was confirmed at twenty
e, on Bishop Seabury's first visit to the parish,
His services in reading prayers and sermons
ceptable that he was persuaded to take orders;

change. His preaching dwelt less on matters of ecclesiastical controversy, and assumed a more strongly evangelical type. He at once became a power in the town, a favorite with those without his church, and a strong influence within it. His church was soon enlarged, but not his salary; and to his labors as rector he had to add those of teacher of a select school. His health suffering from three sermons on Sunday and daily teaching during the week, he was about to accept a call to St. Michael's Church, Litchfield, when, to his surprise, he was elected Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, May 31, 1810.

That diocese was fully organized at a Convention held in Boston, May 29, 1810, and was formed by the union of the churches in the State of Massachusetts (which then included the district of Maine) with those in Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont. The inability of the churches in any of these States to support a bishop of their own compelled this course of action. In the whole Eastern Diocese there were but twenty-two parishes and sixteen officiating clergymen. Most of these parishes were feeble, many almost dead. The only strong churches were Trinity in Boston, St. John's in Providence, and Trinity in Newport. For six years there had been no bishop in the entire region, and those years had been years of decay and spiritual torpor. The rising tide of Unitarianism had greatly affected the church in Massachusetts, since the untimely death of Bishop Parker in 1804.

After Bishop Seabury's death Rhode Island had sought to place itself under Bishop Moore, of New York; but he had not felt able to undertake the charge, and no further efforts for the episcopate were made in that State until the Eastern Diocese was formed. New Hampshire, too, had, on Bishop Seabury's death, elected Bishop Bass, of Massachusetts, to this jurisdiction; but he died a few weeks

e election, and nothing more was done. Vermont
really become part of the Eastern Diocese until
It had had a checkered history as a diocese. Its
tion was only organized in 1790 by two clergymen
ghteen laymen. In 1793 Dr. Bass was elected
and accepted the office conditionally; but a special
tion held in 1794, composed of but nine out of
four nominal parishes, disregarding this action, chose
orious Dr. Samuel Peters as bishop. Confirmation
election was refused by the General Convention.
movement seems to have been made in the interest
d speculation pertaining to the glebe-lands earlier
oned by the English government, through Gov-
Wentworth, to the church and the Venerable Society.
ands it was hoped would prove very remunerative
church and to those who might help to recover
The real spiritual ministrations of the church appear

express understanding that he should not be expected to visit the State.

Such, then, was the condition of the extended district to whose episcopal supervision Bishop Griswold was elected. At first he utterly declined the office, feeling himself inadequate; but the difficulties of the situation appealed to him, and, urged by others, he finally accepted. A year from the date of his election he was consecrated, together with Bishop Hobart (May 29, 1811), by Bishop White, in Trinity Church, New York. He was then forty-five years of age, ten years older than Hobart, having been born in 1766. His health was never strong, but he was in the full maturity of his powers, and he began his work with a zeal which never flagged. It was an arduous and difficult task. To secure sufficient support he retained his position as rector of St. Michael's in Bristol until 1830, when, in order to be nearer the center of his diocese, he became rector of St. Peter's, Salem, Mass. Not until 1835, when he was sixty-nine years of age, did he retire from parish duties and confine himself wholly to the duties of the episcopate. Those duties he always most faithfully fulfilled.

His first effort was to rekindle the fires of spiritual life, which were merely smoldering in many places. He was set to harmonize discordant elements of church life which were bitter by reason of their unreasonableness. He had to administer discipline too long delayed. Like Hobart, he must create the church anew, only out of elements far more hopeless and decayed, far more widely scattered and impoverished. The formidable nature of his task deepened his spiritual intensity. A very marked attention to religion was awakened, the year after his consecration, in his parish church at Bristol, R. I. It came apart from any special measures used to excite it; only, as he writes in

iography," "My recent ordination to the epis-
the means of awakening my own mind to more
ights of duty as a minister of Christ; and in
e I had, no doubt, with more earnest zeal
esus Christ, and him crucified.'" The awak-
d through the whole town. It was attended
vagance; and the result was the addition of a
mmunicants to his small flock of forty, and a
ening of its religious life. These scenes of
erest spread through the diocese. He could
year after his consecration, twelve hundred
s, and an increase not only in numbers, but
to the doctrine and discipline of the church.
e history of his episcopate throughout. He
the scanty score of feeble and scattered par-
constituted his jurisdiction at the beginning
nearly fivefold, and distributed into five fully
lioceses, able to support four bishops, instead

measure." In places where there was no church he held services in the groves, and gathered to confirmation many scores from these wayside hearers. In northern Vermont, in western Massachusetts among the Berkshires, in the wildernesses of Maine and New Hampshire, he repeated the Apostle's experience, "In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often. . . . Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches." "Who shall satisfy these men with bread here in the wilderness?" he was ever asking, as, like his Master, he "looked on the multitude, and had compassion upon them." He always placed the chief emphasis upon personal religion, while claiming for the church the office of its safe guide and educator. Thus it came to pass, in favorable contrast to past times, that in less than thirty years the Eastern Diocese, once made necessary for the conservation and propagation of religion as the church understood and embodied it, had so vivified the region which it embraced that, in order to secure sufficient ministrations for the growing churches and congregations of its vast area, its dissolution became as imperative as its formation had once been.

In the midst of his self-forgetful labors Griswold had at last outlived his contemporaries, and in 1838 he became the senior and presiding bishop of the church. In this capacity he was brought in contact, through active correspondence, with the archbishops and bishops of the English, Scotch, and Irish churches; and the old esteem in which he had been held by the Church Missionary Society was now enlarged by this wider association. He grew in honor as he advanced in years. His last act of ordination was that held in Trinity Church, Boston, December 29, 1842, when he consecrated the Rev. Manton Eastburn, D.D., of New York, to be his helper as assistant Bishop of Massa-

Not two months afterward, on February 11, walked through the snow to call on his coadjutor, e reached the door, fell dead upon the step. Like eabury, who confirmed and ordained him, he did d a sudden death, and, like him, he shared it. He his labors, seventy-seven years of age, having in pate of thirty-two years recreated the Episcopal n all New England outside of Connecticut. He tly character, and was "in labors more abundant." rn now to the episcopate of the Rev. Richard Moore, which, for Virginia and the South, was -making as that of Bishop Hobart in New York op Griswold in New England. Here, again, was inently suited to the place. Though from New had traits specially adapted to Virginia. He ntle blood, being descended from Sir John Moore, knighted by Charles I. in 1627. His grandfather

religious convictions and by his genial social temperament and personal charm. He was *persona grata* always and everywhere. His conversation was spiced with a fund of anecdote, and his amiable disposition brought him hosts of friends. And all his native gifts were made the vehicle for a fervent presentation of those features and facts of the gospel which especially appeal to the personal conscience and win the individual soul. In a good sense he was a revivalist, delighting to improve times of special religious interest by more frequent services and more direct preaching, and by that intense earnestness of appeal and prayer which cannot healthfully be continuous. But he discountenanced mourners' benches and the various devices which have been commonly associated with such times of special awakening. He was emotional, but kept a check on his feelings. He was very direct in his charge to the sinful; but he loved to dwell on the promises of God, and lure men rather than drive them home to Christ. He had, moreover, that personal magnetism which drew and fixed attention, and a persuasive eloquence which made his speech rarely effective. His manner was animated and pathetic, and his voice full of charm. His heart overflowed with charity to all Christian people. He was in all things a gentleman, the very man to fire the Southern heart.

How he came to Virginia we shall now relate. After passing the first two years of his ministry at Rye, he became the rector of St. Andrew's Church, Staten Island, in 1789, and continued there for twenty-one years. It was a ministry of wonderful success. The bounds of his parish were enlarged, the communicants largely increased, the standard of Christian character greatly elevated. Numbers flocked to his ministry from far and near, so that there was no accommodation at the parish church, and a chapel of ease had to be built six miles distant from it. The

incident illustrates his unique hold upon his

d been preaching at one of his usual stations in
oon, and, the ordinary closing devotions being
onounced the benediction. But not a person
retire. All seated themselves in the attitude
nd solemn attention. A member of the church
said, 'Dr. Moore, the people are not disposed
e. Please to give us another sermon.' At the
at a like scene was repeated. And the services
inued, until, at the close of a *third* sermon, the
was obliged to say, 'My beloved people, you
disperse, for, although I delight to proclaim the
gs of salvation, my strength is exhausted and
no more.' Under these sermons many were
to righteousness. It was the commencement of
revival of religion, as the fruits of which sixty

island, preaching in school-houses and farm-houses on week-days, and three times at his different stations on Sundays.

He was called to St. Stephen's Church, New York, in 1809, and went, leaving his son behind him as rector of St. Andrew's. Here he stayed five years, finding a small congregation and thirty communicants, and leaving a church crowded to overflowing, and with between four and five hundred communicants. There were differences of views and usages which kept him awhile apart from Hobart, both as rector and bishop; but they were both too much akin in their spiritual fervor not to come to understand and appreciate each other. Thus it came about that, when Dr. Moore was elevated to the episcopate of Virginia, Bishop Hobart wrote a letter strongly indorsing him.

He was elected bishop in 1814. To secure his support as bishop he was also chosen rector of the Monumental Church in Richmond. As before related, only seven clergymen and eighteen laymen constituted the special Convention which made the election. We need not here repeat what has been already said concerning the low condition of the church in Virginia at this time. The paucity of clergy had had, however, one good effect. It had stirred to greater earnestness those who remained. Among them were four very marked men. They were Wilmer of Fairfax, Norris of Alexandria, Dunn of Loudon County, and, chiefest, William Meade, afterward assistant to Bishop Moore, and his honored successor. These had carefully studied the character of Moore, and stood ready to pledge him their unfaltering support. Moore knew the unpromising nature of the field, more desolate and discouraging, perhaps, than any other portion of the church's domain. He felt a strong and clinging affection for the parish he had so ably built up, and for the life of the community in

was a distinct power. But he also saw the need
a, and felt in touch with the devout remnant of
. He thought he knew the remedy for their
es: that it lay in the earnest presentation of the
ths he loved and lived by, and in the methods
employed. And so he went forth from home
ed, scarcely knowing whither he went, but be-
at God called him. The event proved that he
istaken.

consecrated by Bishop White, May 18, 1814, in
's Church, Philadelphia; his own bishop, Hobart,
with Bishop Griswold and Bishop Dehon, of
rolina, assisting. It was a rare benediction to
saintly and earnest hands laid on such a head.
proved as genuine as its form.

ming of Bishop Moore to Richmond was like the
f summer, the season in which he came. Hope

as was his wont, and declared that "in every parish he had visited he found the most animated wish of the people to restore the church of their fathers to its primitive purity." At once measures were taken to restore discipline, confined at first to grosser sins, yet immediately raising the cry of priestly usurpation and oppression. The lawless declared the clergy only wanted power, and that fire and fagot would soon be used again; that the bishop was only establishing a Methodist Church, and that the new church needed reforming already.[1] This very opposition showed the presence of a new vitality, and the work of reformation went steadily on. Parishes seemingly dead were aroused to life and vigor. In another year ten new churches were reported as about to be built, while eight of the old dilapidated or deserted sanctuaries were undergoing repair. The work of revival, development, and growth never afterward ceased. It continued all through his episcopate and that of his coadjutor and successor, Meade, and through those of their successors.

When Bishop Moore came to his diocese there were only four or five active laboring ministers. When, after twenty-seven years, he died, there were nearly a hundred earnest and devoted clergy, and a hundred and seventy churches served by them. He made and kept his clergy devoted by friendly intercourse, by unfailing interest in their work, and by faithful admonition. The tendency to slight the liturgy, hitherto used so formally, which at times cropped out amid the renewed zeal for spiritual results, was always noticed and restrained. He had a great love for associations for informal devotion, for lecture-room services and prayer-meetings; but he never suffered them to be regarded as substitutes for the regular public devotions of the Prayer-book, nor esteemed as superior to them.

[1] See Meade, "Old Churches and Families of Virginia," vol. i., p. 39.

annual Conventions of the diocese there were preceding and succeeding its sessions, to which oned as many as possible of the church families ghborhood, and which were centers of great re- luence. Fervent preaching and earnest prayers zed them; and the bishop regarded these as- so called as a chief means of stimulating devo- th clergy and laity. They associated the legis- the church with its life, and gave to its routine religious tone and meaning. These devotional during Convention were supplemented by asso- f more frequent occurrence in special districts, same measures were used to arouse and keep religious life of the neighborhood. The utter f all this to the old life, or lack of it, indicated a renovation of the church. Communicants were abstain from worldly amusements, and a stricter

explain, God is pleased to make the ordinances of his religion the channels of his love to man. We perform our duty in obeying that precept which leads us to the altar. God strengthens us by his inward grace imparted to us." He was very earnest, however, in emphatic protest against the "Tracts for the Times," and rejoiced in Bishop McIlvaine's criticism of the Oxford Movement. He was stanch in his belief in and love for the church of his fathers, while he cherished a spirit of forbearance and charity toward the followers of Christ of every name. Thus he was for many years the president of the Bible Society of Virginia. "Could a Prayer-book accompany every volume of the Sacred Writings I should be rejoiced," he said in a letter to Bishop Ravenscroft; "but as that was not the case when the Scriptures were first given to the world, I cannot see the propriety of making it a condition of their dissemination at the present day."

Such was the spirit and course of his episcopate. The wants of his own communion he was neither slow to descry nor slack to remedy. He urged strongly the duty of systematic giving; and, if he did not institute the weekly offertory, he at least exhorted every churchman "to lay aside on the first day of the week a portion of his earnings to be sacredly devoted to the cause of Christian benevolence." He felt the crying need of earnest ministers, cognizant of the special wants of his diocese, and was greatly instrumental in instituting the Virginia Theological Seminary in order to supply them. This was not done in opposition to the General Seminary in New York, but to gain what that could not give him. And he was mindful of the wants of his clergy when he got them, and strenuously pleaded for their more adequate support, urging the formation of a missionary fund for their relief. He called attention to the claims of the Prayer-book and Tract

nd recommended the formation of auxiliaries to
e parishes. He encouraged the publication of
hern Churchman," a weekly religious paper, and
at the editor would "feel himself bound to in-
l faithfully to guard the distinctive principles of
tant Episcopal Church, without wantonly assail-
rinciples of other Christian communities, and
ontroversy when controversy can possibly be

labored on until his eightieth year, taking many
f great extent, and, though after 1829 relieved
sistance of his coadjutor, Bishop Meade, daily
in the public duties of his office. At every
Convention the parochial reports showed dis-
ress in the church. He saw his beloved Theo-
minary growing in strength and sending forth
to the vineyard. He experienced the warmest

home. Like him, he left a diocese so reconstructed through his labors and by his spirit as to make it a perpetual witness to his power and goodness. He was a man of great popular gifts; but as with his two distinguished contemporaries, Hobart and Griswold, it was the spiritual consecration of the man to his Master which gave him the commanding influence he exercised upon the life and fortunes of the church.

These three bishops whose careers have been sketched were typical of the church history of their time. The spirit in which they wrought furnished the recreative power of the Episcopal Church. That spirit was by no means wholly confined to them. It was manifest in other quarters, and by many in other orders of the ministry, who labored under them, even to mention whom the time would fail us. Already before the consecration of Bishop Moore, of Virginia, Dr. Theodore Dehon, who had been the successful rector of Trinity Church, Newport, and afterward for seven years rector of St. Michael's, Charleston, was elected and consecrated Bishop of South Carolina in 1812. His short episcopate of five years gave stability and increase to the Southern church. Dr. James Kemp in 1814 was made coadjutor to Bishop Claggett, of Maryland, in special charge of the churches on the Eastern Shore, and in 1816 succeeded to the charge of the whole diocese. Through many troublous scenes he safely guided the church until 1827, when he died. New Jersey at last, in 1815, roused itself from its lethargy, and elected Dr. John Croes for its first bishop; and he for seventeen years ruled the diocese faithfully in the meekness of wisdom. Bishop Bowen succeeded Bishop Dehon in South Carolina in 1818; and in 1819 Bishop Brownell succeeded Bishop Jarvis after an interval of six years in the episcopate of Connecticut.

During this time the records of the General Convention

nd reflect the spirit rekindled in the dioceses.
dance was notably larger, and attention was given
ways to the discipline and worship of the church,
make it more earnestly devout. Warnings
rldliness came from the House of Bishops, and
ns were provided for the expression of the life
throughout the communion. In order to meet
concerning the possession of church property in
rters, the declaration concerning the identity of
testant Episcopal Church with the body hereto-
n in these States by the name of the Church of
' was passed by both houses in 1814. In this it
The church conceives of herself as professing
g on the principles of the Church of England;
ld be contrary to the fact were any one to infer
discipline exercised in this church, or that any
gs therein, are at all dependent on the will of the

go to college, he graduated at Dartmouth in 1795. He had entered a Puritan; he came out a churchman; for he had found there a Prayer-book, and the study of it converted him. After teaching at Albany he was ordered deacon by Bishop Provoost in 1798. He was possessed of a restless missionary zeal, and the life of a frontiersman beckoned him. His first work was in western New York, planting parishes in the wilderness, notably at Utica and Auburn. After receiving priest's orders he for five years had charge of churches at Poughkeepsie and Fishkill, to which double charge he added the labors of principal of the academy. The Protestants of New Orleans applied to Bishop Moore for a clergyman, and he sent them Chase. He went in 1805, established Christ Church in New Orleans, scoured the outlying settlements for converts, fell almost mortally ill of malaria, and returned to New England in 1811.

From this time he was rector of Christ Church, Hartford, Conn., until 1817, when he could no longer repress his itinerant instincts, and so started for the district in Ohio called the Western Reserve. Here at Salem he made his home. No Episcopalians were there; in fact, there were few among the Western emigrants anywhere, for at the East they chiefly belonged to the classes which did not emigrate. But from settlement to settlement Chase pushed his way, instructing the people in the church's worship, with which many were much pleased. He established relations with the two clergymen already in the State, but remote from each other. In 1818 the five clergy who constituted the entire clerical force in the State met with some nine laymen at Worthington, having organized a diocese at Columbus the year before, and elected Chase bishop. It was an election to toil and penury, but as such it had for him its charms. He was consecrated by Bishop White in St. James's Church, Philadelphia, February 11, 1819.

ce pushed his way on horseback, through incred-
ers, back to his diocese.
ail his perils in the wilderness there is no space.
of them is found in the two dioceses of Ohio and
He knew the people, and was wise to win them;
aw that those who should win them must know
hem. Hence the necessity for Ohio, as for Virginia
hop Moore, of a ministry bred on the spot. He de-
ound a college and to go to England for money to
He met with discouragement by the way. Bishop
rongly disapproved his action and was on his way
nd, where his position and character would give
ence. Still the sturdy frontier bishop went; and
ed the public. He was a prehistoric ecclesiastical
, with the wild flavor and unconventional simplicity
captivate the aristocrat to-day. He had a letter
ry Clay to Lord Gambier, who was president of
h Missionary Society, and he was received with

labors," until in 1835 the three clergymen and three parishes in Illinois met at Peoria, formed themselves into a diocese, and elected Bishop Chase their bishop. He was received by the General Convention which assembled the same year. Though now sixty years of age, he began with all the ardor of youth to repeat the labors and successes of his old Ohio life. He found the same needs here as in his first diocese, and at once proceeded to supply them, and in the same manner. In the autumn of the year of his assuming the episcopate of Illinois he went a second time to England to gather funds for a new college for the training of Western ministers and the education of the sons of the frontiersmen. In seven months he returned with ten thousand dollars, and began the foundations of Jubilee College. He received gifts, also, from his own countrymen. He again visited the South in 1839, and Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina made generous response to his appeals. Philadelphia, New York, and Brooklyn, at the North, contributed. New England sustained scholarships; Old England, from time to time, sent aid. Thus he established his second college; and as the pioneer missionary bishop to the West, serviceable to its humblest needs and alive to its imperative demands, he did his great work of saving the region to civilization and to a reasonable and churchly Christianity. Two collegiate institutions and two dioceses, started and consolidated, are a monument which few have ever erected to their own memory. And it is to be remembered that all this was done in the midst of primeval forests, surrounded by the crudest conditions of pioneer life.

In the meantime the church at the East and the South felt the same impulse to supply facilities for the education of the ministry that Chase had felt in the West. From this impulse, the General Theological Seminary at New York,

pal Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Va., and
first called Washington) College at Hartford,
k their rise. As early as 1814 the Rev. Mr.
of South Carolina, had moved in General Con-
hat a joint committee of both houses be appointed
o consideration the institution of a theological
; and at the subsequent Convention of 1817 the
th houses was found to be in favor of a general
ich it had been determined to establish in New
the motion of Bishop Dehon, of South Carolina,

ed, That it is expedient to establish, for the
cation of the candidates for holy orders in this
General Theological Seminary which may have
support of the whole church in these United
be under the superintendence and control of
l Convention; and that this seminary be located
of New York."

ganize it on a different plan. Bishop Brownell, who had succeeded the year before to the episcopate of Connecticut, took a lively interest in it, and promulgated a plan of organization; and as Dr. Turner was now, owing to the resignation of Dr. Jarvis, the only professor, the bishop moved to New Haven to act gratuitously as an instructor.

In the meantime Bishop Hobart founded the Protestant Episcopal Education Society of the State of New York, which took immediate measures to establish two associated schools, the principal one in New York, the other in Geneva. Both schools were opened in the early summer of 1821, with a corps of professors in each. When, then, in March, 1821 (a little before the opening of the New York school, in May), the will of Mr. Jacob Sherred, a vestryman of Trinity Church, was read, bequeathing a legacy of about sixty thousand dollars to a seminary to be established in New York by the General or Diocesan Convention, "for the education of young men designed for holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church," this new diocesan society of Bishop Hobart claimed the bequest, which claim the trustees of the General Seminary at New Haven were disposed to dispute. A special meeting of the General Convention was held, in consequence, in October, at Philadelphia, to decide the question; and the result was the removal of the General Seminary back to New York, and its union with the diocesan school.

Thus the present General Theological Seminary was formed, and inherited the munificent legacy of Mr. Sherred. The seminary reopened in New York in February, 1822, with twenty-six students, and has continued its instruction to this day. Of its long and honorable history we have not space to write, nor can we fitly commemorate the labors and self-denials of the many admirable men who have taught in it, nor the many distinguished alumni who have

from it. The names of Hobart and Turner, on and Moore, and Seabury and Forbes, and am and Mahan, are all indissolubly associated th many others among the living whom we may

The late munificent legacy of Dr. Eigenbrodt, d many years gratuitously as a professor, shows ciation in which those hold it who have been with it. To the princely benefactions of the an, Rev. Dr. E. A. Hoffman, the church and the one of the noblest groups of ecclesiastical archi- be found on the continent.

eological Seminary of the diocese of Virginia urated about the same time as the General Sem- New York. It was designed to educate clergy adapted to Virginia and the South; and, while oore disavowed any feeling of rivalry with the eminary, there was a widespread fear in Virginia neral seminary might take too great an impress

orship at the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, the Virginia Theological Seminary was opened at Alexandria in 1823. It, too, has had an honorable and distinguished history. The successive bishops of Virginia have taken the greatest interest in it, and, not to mention others, the association of such a man as Dr. Sparrow, its most distinguished professor, with it gave it a consecration in the minds of all men who prize intellectual greatness combined with spiritual power. Its theology has always taken the complexion of the Evangelical school, though it has educated many who have not belonged to it. It long held the distinction of sending out all the foreign missionaries of the church; and of its nine hundred graduates fully fifty have gone on foreign missions, while twenty-two have been made bishops. Fifteen different dioceses have at times been represented among its students. After the Civil War it was nobly assisted by munificent benefactions from the North, especially by the princely gifts of the late William H. Aspinwall, of New York. It stands strong to-day.

It was soon after the consecration of Bishop Brownell, in 1819, that steps were taken in Connecticut to establish a church college. The new bishop had been tutor and professor in Union College at Schenectady, N. Y., for ten years, and was deeply interested in Christian education. It was a congenial task to him to revive the project which Bishop Seabury had started, but was unable to complete, in the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, of securing a church college capable of conferring degrees and giving the complete education to which they witnessed. Many circumstances combined to make this a propitious time for the movement. The unhappy war with England (1812–15) had at least had this happy effect: to remove from the Episcopal Church the charge of disloyalty. Churchmen

others had enlisted and fought bravely in the
" Star-spangled Banner," which became at once
anthem, had been written by Francis S. Key, a
well as distinguished layman of Maryland; and
was seen to breed patriots in Connecticut, as in
ıtion it had bred them in Virginia. The taint
ınia was now lessened, if not obliterated, in the
ose first bishop had been a chaplain in the royal

n 1817, the Episcopalians in the State received
Bishops' Fund one seventh of the sum which
ıt recovered from the United States for expense
the late war with England, and which the State
among the various denominations in proportion
merical strength. In 1818 the Standing Order
ırown, and a State constitution was adopted,
xpress provision for religious equality. In
the governor, Oliver Wolcott, invited the rec

the near neighborhood of Yale College has somewhat overshadowed the institution, in the tone of its scholarship it has maintained a high rank. During the seventy years of its existence it has taught more than sixteen hundred students, conferred the degree of B.A. on over nine hundred of them, and sent forth three hundred ministers, of whom eight have become bishops. The Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown was founded as an offshoot of the college during the administration of Bishop Williams.

The colleges established under the influence of the church, though respectable and useful institutions, have not up to this time, with the exception of Columbia College, New York, taken a leading rank in the country, and for various reasons. They were preceded by older foundations, which in turn have sent forth vigorous offshoots in newer but still strong organizations. At the West and the East alike the church community itself was small, and was absorbed in reëstablishing itself after the Revolution in the face of strong popular prejudice. When the movement of establishing colleges began they were chiefly intended to supply local wants, and they partook largely of the local character of the diocese in which they were placed. They have been, as it were, diocesan rather than general institutions, and have thus embodied and represented sections of the church instead of the whole body. As time went on party spirit in the church grew rife, and the colleges stood for special schools of churchmanship, to be sought or avoided, according to the sympathies of individual churchmen. They have thus not appealed to the church as a whole, and have suffered accordingly. Columbia College, by reason of its situation in New York City, has been largely freed from this narrowing and partisan aspect, and has profited by this freedom. The latest of the large institutions, the

of the South, virtually founded since the war
, at Sewanee, Tenn., though established originally
olitical division of the country, has imbibed a
rous spirit, and appealing to all the Southern
hich are represented in its board, puts on the
ct of the whole church. It comes nearer than
utions to being truly a church college, and its
proportionally great. When all the colleges of
give broader significance to the legend on the
nity College, "*Ecclesia et patria*," they will be-
commensurate with the character of the church
sent.

he church was thus fortifying itself within by
n of schools for theological and secular learning,
sed also to extend its work and influence by
g its missionary organization. The Domestic
gn Missionary Society was formally inaugurated

society was constituted as composed of the bishops and deputies of the General Convention, represented by a board of directors, and working by an executive committee of eight.

The great hindrance before this time to planting missions in the new States and Territories had been the identity of the state with the diocese. It was not until 1838 that the word "State" was replaced by the word "Diocese" in the constitution. The General Convention had felt itself unwarranted to impose bishops on independent churches or on States which possessed the inherent rights of organization and of choosing their own episcopal head. There thus existed for years many dioceses which were represented in the General Convention only in the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, because there was no bishop. As an extreme instance, Delaware (represented in the earliest Conventions, and furnishing, in the person of the Rev. Dr. Charles Henry Wharton, one of the men most influential in framing the Constitution and forming the Prayer-book) had no bishop until 1841. New Jersey, Maine, North Carolina, Georgia, and other States shared in less degree this same impediment to growth. It was seen that the time had come for other and more aggressive action.

The effort to awaken a missionary spirit in the church met with enthusiastic and general support. Auxiliary societies immediately sprang up. The very next year the executive committee reported the formation of eleven of them, eight of them being female societies; and in 1836 thirty-two auxiliaries were reported. All types of churchmen coöperated in urging the claims of missions. Doane and Hopkins, McIlvaine and Meade, Otey, De Lancey, Henshaw, Milnor, Tyng, all used their eloquence to advocate the cause. Offerings flowed in in response. On motion of Bishop Hobart the House of Bishops in 1828

nded the clergy to make annual collections for the
and Dr. Wainwright made plain that "though
and foreign missions may be distinct in name,
ause itself is one and indivisible." Bishop White
his private credit for the supply of needed means
ergency.

rst person who offered himself for foreign mission-
was the Rev. Joseph R. Andrews, of the Eastern
who, commended by Bishop Griswold, went out
to Liberia as "a missionary and agent of the
ion Society." He died the next year. The
Convention of 1826 unanimously declared that
es should be taken for establishing missions at
nd Buenos Ayres"; and the executive committee
d Mr. Jacob Orson, a colored man, as missionary
as soon as he could obtain orders. Ordained
l by Bishop Brownell, he died as the ship which

efforts of the Greeks in freeing themselves from Turkish rule and Mohammedan oppression; and the need of education was so great in the old classic country that many of the Greek youth were sent to the continent of Europe for education, where they imbibed and returned with infidel principles. In two months after Mrs. Hill's school for girls was opened there were a hundred and sixty-seven pupils, from three to eighteen years old, and very few of them could read. A boys' school was begun, and a hundred pupils flocked to it. The influence of Mr. and Mrs. Hill was ever most healthful and purifying. Through a long life they continued to educate in a pure Christianity multitudes of those who are now the fathers and mothers of the Greek community. The schools are still maintained, a blessing to the land.

The mission to China was established at the very close of the period of the church's life we are now considering. It owed its beginning to the devotion of young Lyde, who died in 1834, at the age of twenty-one, before he could enter the missionary service, to which he had consecrated his life. His spirit was caught by others, and in 1835 the funds were found, and the Rev. Henry Lockwood, of the General Theological Seminary, and the Rev. Francis R. Hansen, a graduate of the Virginia Theological Seminary, sailed together for China. This was before the English Church had entered that field. Bishop Boone was the first foreign missionary bishop elected by the Protestant Episcopal Church, and he was consecrated for China in 1844.

The history of these missions we may not here trace. The church, after the action of 1821, was fairly started on the course she has ever since pursued with steadfast steps. All the bishops for the new-formed dioceses were really missionary bishops in the nature of their work. But not

was the first so-called missionary bishop elected
rson of Jackson Kemper, D.D. His truly apos-
t will be noticed hereafter. The most significant
gard to the church's missionary action at this
to be found in the report of the committee hav-
arge the "consideration of changes in the mode
nary operations." Its spirit inspired the whole
nd its plan reinvigorated its whole missionary
It was the outcome of churchmen of all schools,
he unanimous expression of their settled convic-
enunciated and enforced the proposition that
rch is the missionary society," and that "every
in the terms of his baptismal vow" is pledged
ate in preaching the gospel to every creature.
d of Missions thus became the agent of the whole
missionary work, and its two departments, foreign
stic, were regarded only as what Dr. Tyng had de-
m to be departments of one great field. Bishop

been organized in 1817, and consisted of four churches, three surviving from the colonial period, namely, St. James's, Wilmington, St. Paul's, Edenton, and Christ Church, New Berne; and one new one added, St. John's, Fayetteville. This work of organization was simply meant to gather together what remained of the old colonial churches. Bishop Moore, of Virginia, gave them occasional episcopal oversight until 1823, when Ravenscroft was elected bishop.

John Stark Ravenscroft was unlike the men who had been previously admitted to the episcopate, in that he had lived an utterly godless though not a dissolute life until he was thirty-eight years old, and had been admitted deacon at the ripe age of forty-five. He was born in Virginia, 1772, of Scotch parentage, and, while of gentle blood and breeding, exhibited both before and after his conversion the blunt pertinacity and pugnacity of his race. He combined with his Scotch obstinacy the ardor of a Virginian; and when once his feet were turned into the right path, he walked unflinchingly in it. His conversion was a very marked one, and his theological opinions and ecclesiastical convictions bore the impress of it. The doctrines of grace, so called, formed the substance of his preaching. Being consciously converted himself, he believed in bringing others through a similar experience. Withal he was a strong High-churchman ecclesiastically, demanding for the satisfaction of his soul a demonstrable authority for those rites and sacraments which incorporated him into the church and preserved him in the covenant of grace. After a ministry of six years in Virginia he undertook the rule and oversight of the four churches of North Carolina, and of the other scattered sheep of the Episcopal fold within its borders who had no sheepfold and no shepherd. Before his death, in 1830, there had been added to the original four churches twenty-

He accomplished this result by incessant labor and
nptness and devotion beyond praise. Such jour-
and such wildness both of nature and of man to be
red in them! They seemed only to inflame the
l of the intrepid bishop. He was called the lion-
and, from the description of the energy and roar
aching, he might well have been called the lion-
Force was his distinguishing characteristic;
brusqueness and bluntness often gave offense.
was a force of affection as well as of speech and
nd it was quite as characteristic of him. On his
d he said, "I have many pardons to ask of my
en for my harshness of manner toward them,
iking his heart, he exclaimed, "there was no
s here." Sternness and severity were apparent
ecause they were real in him. They were the
and severity of a man who has felt his own need

in North Carolina during or after Bishop Ravenscroft's rule could dare repeat the old reproach that the church he served guarded the decencies but neglected the essentials of religion. He won respect for its rigor and earnestness. He made it a power which has not waned.

Other consecrations to the episcopate followed that of Ravenscroft, whose influence was more felt at a subsequent period than this. Henry U. Onderdonk became assistant to Bishop White in 1827, amid scenes of partisan conflict which foretold the coming contention of parties who could not understand or appreciate one another until the vigor of their youth had by experience gained a calmer and broader wisdom. The denominational spirit long prevailed in the body which laid emphasis on its churchliness; and its violent manifestation at this election vexed the soul of the venerable White, who had laid the foundations of the church on the basis of mutual comprehension, and not of one-sided domination.

William Meade, who had been a candidate in the Pennsylvania election, and withdrawn from it, became the assistant of Bishop Moore, of Virginia, in 1829; a veritable coadjutor, who shared the convictions of his chief, and long after him ruled the diocese in the same spirit. William Murray Storer succeeded Bishop Kemp as Bishop of Maryland in 1830, a compromise candidate between Dr. Wyatt on the one side and Drs. Henshaw and Johns on the other. For seven years he filled with dignity that most difficult position, in which it is almost impossible to satisfy either of the electing parties, because the actual bishop is the first choice of neither. In the same year Benjamin T. Onderdonk began his troubled episcopate of New York, in succession to Bishop Hobart; and in 1831 Levi Silliman Ives succeeded Bishop Ravenscroft in North Carolina.

The year 1832 was memorable for the consecration to-

f four men who became as marked in their upon the church as the group of three from nsecration we date this period. They were John opkins, first Bishop of Vermont; Benjamin Bos- nith, first Bishop of Kentucky; Charles Petit e, second Bishop of Ohio; and George Washing- ne, second Bishop of New Jersey. The service in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, October 31, venerable White acting as consecrator. James became first Bishop of Tennessee in 1834; Jack- ber was elected and consecrated missionary bishop ri and Indiana, with jurisdiction all through the t, in 1835; and Samuel Allen McCoskry was rst Bishop of Michigan in 1836, just too late to crated by Bishop White, who then lay on his l.

be seen by some of these consecrations that a

advocacy of Dr. Whittingham, afterward the great Bishop of Maryland; and the new diocese, under the wise rule of Bishop De Lancey, fully vindicated the wisdom of the procedure.

At this last Convention before the death of Bishop White the clergy list, which in 1811 had contained one hundred and sixty-nine names (Virginia not included), had grown to include seven hundred and sixty-three. The two bishops, with twenty-five clerical and twenty-two lay deputies who were in attendance on Convention then, were now represented by fourteen bishops, sixty-nine clerical and fifty-one lay deputies. Nine States were represented in 1811; in 1835 twenty-one.

Within the year following the Convention of 1835 Bishop White was called to his rest. He was preparing to preach at the consecration of Bishop McCoskry, which took place July 7, 1836, when he was taken ill, July 2d, and, lingering till July 17th, died in the same peaceful serenity in which he had lived. He was eighty-eight years of age and in the fiftieth year of his episcopate. The course of his life in the church has been indicated in the history of the events in which he took part. It was an illustration of the beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers." He had won universal respect. His chief service had been that of counselor; and the foundation of the national church was due to him more than to any other man. He was, however, faithful in all things, and if not largely endowed with the modern spirit of stirring activity, he was intrepid in the discharge of every parochial and civic duty. He remained at his post unflinchingly for weeks during the ravages of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, when many ministers had left the city. He stood for things honest and of good report in civil life also, and was honored beyond most men as a citizen.

ningling in ordinary politics, he did not believe
duties as a member of the community were
d by his ecclesiastical position. He always voted.
a decided stand on the moral aspects of public
s in his opposition to the acceptance by the city
Girard's bequest, conditioned on the exclusion of
en, even as visitors, from the college he founded.
red the American Colonization Society and pre-
its public meetings. He was long president of the
hia Bible Society, whose course he thoroughly
d and upheld. His relations to non-Episcopal
en were marked by the courtesy and friendliness
ere the outflow of his conviction that in maintain-
ancient regimen of bishops the English Church
ced no judgment against those who did not. He
believe in entangling alliances, nor in mingling
nor in exchange of pulpits, holding that peace and

voluntarily a general suspension of business. The public authorities, the various literary, charitable, and religious societies, the clergy and members of different Christian churches, as well as those of his own communion, composed the immense funeral procession, which was witnessed by many thousands who thronged the streets, and who preserved silence and good order throughout. His name had been a tower of strength to the church in the days of its infancy. During its youthful years nothing tended more than his unflinching advocacy to divest it of a foreign aspect and commend it to the respect of his countrymen. In its later life his steadfast enthusiasm and approval greatly aided its establishment as a potent factor in the religious history of the American people.

CHAPTER XVI.

E DEATH OF BISHOP WHITE TO THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR (1835–65).

NGE had come over the temper of the church
last years of Bishop White. A change was
pending in the mind and method of the church's
the crystallization of parties there lay the germs
ternal and unprofitable strife, and also of much
nd aggressive life. In replacing the State idea
esan principle, a force was set free which joined

this period Bishop Kip became the first bishop of the Pacific coast, going out to the miners of California in 1853. Bishop Scott planted the church in Oregon, 1854; and Bishop Washington Lee began to rule it in Iowa the same year. Henry Benjamin Whipple went to Minnesota in 1859; now the sole survivor of the Western pioneer bishops, worthy to live on as witness of what consecrated service can accomplish for native Indians and encroaching white men. He lives; and we may not write his epitaph, for that could only be eulogy. And there have been Talbot in the Northwest and Indiana, Gregg in Texas, Freeman and Lay in Arkansas, Rutledge in Florida, Vail in Kansas, Clarkson in Nebraska, and Randall in Colorado, all appointed within this period, and all pioneers in their respective fields. They stand as witnesses not only to the personal devotion and self-sacrifice which the gospel inspires, but to an expansion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which has made the church coterminous with the national domain.

During this period forty-four bishops were consecrated, nearly three times as many as survived at the death of Bishop White; and had the proportional increase of the first half of the period continued, the church would have now almost dominated the religious life of the nation. The numerous details of this wonderful expansion cannot in the allotted space be stated, nor is there even room for the grateful mention of the many noble men and women who have by their labors produced it. We can only indicate certain of its salient features which serve to illustrate the rest. By 1850 the seven hundred and sixty-three clergymen of 1835 had more than doubled, having reached the number of fifteen hundred and fifty-eight; and during the last half of this period, or by 1865, the clergy list reported twenty-four hundred and fifty. The communi-

o in 1835 numbered about thirty-six thousand, ad risen to almost eighty thousand; and by 1865 e hundred and fifty thousand were reported.[1]
e church's growth was not only along the lines aphical extension and numerical increase. The which distinguish it became more clear-cut and uential, and by the force of their own character t into prominence and multiplied its clergy and bership. Its worship took on a more dignified a warmer tone. Through the efforts especially hlenberg, its hymnody was enriched and enlarged. rchitecture was improved, receiving its most po- ılse from the erection of the present edifices of hurch and Grace Church, New York, and creat- taste and knowledge in church building and fur- which has revolutionized the appearance of church hroughout the country. Stained glass came in,

"Churchman," the "Protestant Churchman," the "Banner of the Cross," the "Episcopal Reader," and many more, evidenced growth of church interest, but also increase of church strife, which they did nothing to allay, but everything to inflame. The first half of this period, especially, was witness to strenuous and vigorous advance, but an advance along party lines. Even the educational institutions now founded partook of the same spirit. Genuine religious enthusiasm and principle lay at their foundation; but Nashotah, established as an associate mission in 1842, was as strongly contrasted with Bexley Hall, inaugurated at Gambier in 1839, as Racine in Wisconsin has been distinguished from Griswold College in Iowa, both born within this period.

The missionary life of the church seemed to turn into like limited channels. In 1835 there was a sort of tacit understanding, which men of the stamp of Bishop Alonzo Potter, Dr. Sparrow, and Dr. Stephen H. Tyng opposed, that the foreign department of missions should be in the hands of the Evangelicals, and the domestic field should be directed by the High-churchmen. The consequent growth at home, and the proportionate increase in representation at the General Convention, of High-churchmen wrought so much in favor of the influence of the latter that, under the sense of unfair disadvantage, the Low-churchmen, in 1860, organized the American Church Missionary Society, to try to recover their prestige in the newer parts of the country. Thus it came about that even in its missionary department the church seemed to rise in arms against itself. Happily this state of affairs did not last long; and the general and special missionary organizations became in 1877 auxiliary to each other. But for a while strong party feeling ruled in the missionary work of the church.

rit was not so apparent in the foreign work, for stant; and Bishop Boone, who went as missionary China in 1844, had other tasks than party war- mplish, as had also Bishop Payne, who went to 851. Horatio Southgate was thought to be a hman when he was sent to Turkey as missionary he domains of the sultan in 1844. He had pre- pred for several years among the Mohammedans, ow instructed to seek for friendly intercourse astern Christians, and to exert an influence for ntenment, rather than to suggest intercommun- them. His methods of doing so, however, ich criticism by Low-churchmen at home, who vas being more influenced by the Greek Church ncing it. When, therefore, he returned home ith the ideas he had imbibed in his five years' n Constantinople, to attempt the separation of

suspected the other of disloyalty, and hence the clash of arms. Each was striving for the right to be. At the time this seemed to involve the denial of the other's right to be.

The two parties whose rival action is so characteristic of this period were not the products of it. They were representatives of the two tendencies, the subjective and the objective, in religious thought and life, which always exist, and must exist, and which were distinctly apparent in the colonial churches and in the earlier years of the national church, before the death of Bishop White. They were both stimulated by the Oxford Movement, whose effects were quite as apparent in America as in England, and each became more active as the growing life of the church enlarged its sphere of influence. Bishop Griswold in New England, Bishop Philander Chase in Ohio and Illinois, and Bishop Channing Moore in Virginia had exerted their influence along the lines of the Evangelical school in molding the church life of their respective dioceses; while Bishop Seabury in Connecticut, Bishop Hobart in New York, and Bishop Ravenscroft in North Carolina had left an equal impress of the High-church system on their respective fields of labor. The parties were not at first very distinct from each other in theological tenets. Each claimed to be the especial champion of the orthodoxy of the Prayer-book, while they laid emphasis on different parts of it. Biblical criticism was as yet dormant in America; and both parties held to the Bible with the same tenacious grasp, as an infallible authority in all matters ecclesiastical as well as theological.

The conduct of worship was very uniform. There was nothing in the symbolic adornments of the churches, in the dress of the officiating minister, in his gestures or postures, or modes of administering the rites and offices of

rship, by which one class of churchmen could be
ied from another. The difference was not exter-
nternal; not at that time theological or ritual,
ical. The Evangelical laid strongest emphasis
ividual reception of grace; the High-churchman
stitutional administration of grace. The watch-
ie one was experience; that of the other, author-
one looked more to the personal Christian life;
more to the corporate Christian life. It was in-
herefore, that they should regard the same doc-
the same sacrament differently.

angelical was very strenuous in the subordination
ter to the spirit, of the form to the substance.
reat dread of formalism; and the early church
regions where this school most abounded gave
utary aspect to this dread. The formula went
until interpreted by the heart and conscience.
object of truth and worship was to bring the

soon as its organization was complete, and that it was essential to the best ordering of the church, they did not find it a divine command in the Scriptures, and regarded it as a providential rather than as a positive institution.

The test of experience ruled here as in regard to worship, sacraments, and dogma. God's abundant blessing on the labors of non-Episcopal churches indicated to the Evangelicals that these were not without the essence of the church, though they might be deprived of some of its best advantages. Hence they fraternized more fully with other denominations than their more exclusive brethren. While they had unfeigned attachment to the liturgy, they advocated and practiced freer modes of worship in less formal assemblies than the stated Sunday congregations; and prayer-meetings and extemporaneous exhortations were highly prized as means of grace, as by Bishops Griswold and Channing Moore at an earlier period, so at this time by Drs. Milnor, Bedell, and Tyng. In regard to the liturgy, they held it to be thoroughly evangelical. They regarded the sacraments as means of grace therein offered and conveyed; but they emphasized the element of faith in the recipient as an essential condition of benefit from the same. The soul's attitude of acceptance was as indispensable as the divine attitude of proffer. Subjective experience must enter into sacramental communion. The whole subject of regeneration in baptism was somewhat indistinct and muddled while the term was identified, as it generally was, with moral change or conversion in the recipient, and many theories were broached to avoid or explain the direct and positive statements of the Baptismal Office. The hypothetical theory, the charitable-hope theory, the change-of-state theory, were, with many others, advocated by men who could not harmonize the fruits of baptism in experience with the unqualified assertions of its spiritual

the service. When the term was more accu-
ned (as much later by the House of Bishops in
not involving moral change, as the witness to
, but not to the active reception of it by the
when, in fine, regeneration was identified with
owment, and not necessarily with human appro-
it, and baptism was made witness to an object-
d not to a subjective experience, then the Bap-
ce ceased to be an object of controversy.

ature of spiritual experience gave the key to
ne of the Evangelicals concerning the ministry.
to its official authority, but not to its official
s. Ministers were authoritative witnesses to
e and conveyers of the knowledge of it, but not
nediators of its application, or indispensable to
nication. They clung with great tenacity to
hite's position: "That, as the word 'priest' was

Calvinism in most of this school, which in some was not so mild; and in this they were distinguished, like the English Evangelicals, the Simeons, Romaines, and Venns, from the Wesleys, in so many other respects like them. And the explanation is that they sat at the feet of the English Reformers, while the Wesleys referred everything to the early fathers and the primitive church, before even Augustinianism was born. Practically they were not extreme, and their hearers were not racked with the tortures of absolute divine decrees and the harrowing uncertainties of unconditional election. They spoke to the heart and conscience, and from these their response came.

It cannot be doubted that this school, whatever its inconsistencies or party passion or assumptive monopoly of vital piety, rendered service of incalculable worth to the church's life. More than all others it drew the common people, and roused the church to spiritual sympathy with the general religious life of the community. It divested it of that air of ecclesiastical isolation which once made it seem to be in the community, but not of it; and it drew attention to the spiritual significance of its worship, which has won for it more and more appreciation. Within as without the church, this school has permeated and elevated the devotions of those farthest removed from its special tenets. Its demand for the direct contact of the soul with its personal Lord finds sacramental expression in the Eucharist of the Ritualist; and the Broad-churchman, rejoicing in the spiritual freedom of a living organism as contrasted with a constrained subjection to a mere prescriptive authority, may well say of the Evangelical fathers, "Other men labored, and we are entered into their labors." The High-churchmen who contended with them caught the glow of their zeal and felt the warmth of their enthusiasm, and made the system for which they contended, and in the

red, the more vital by reason of its contact with The Evangelical prayer-meetings and revivals, e appeared so reprehensible, survive in more form, but in essential spirit, in the parochial ssion in which all schools to-day unite. All urchmen now respond to the touch of that spirit years ago called itself Evangelical. For in the for the right to interpret the formularies by the rmers, and to exercise freedom of action and matters not prescribed by rubrics and canons, elical school gave a larger interpretation to the tem, infused into it a spirit of Christian liberty, into a manlier tone the legislation which threat- k into a mere prescriptive discipline. As a com- organization the school has dissolved, but it has ns perished. It lives as an influence in almost rtment of the church's life, spiritualizing its wor-

tion. Francis S. Key, Jay, Binney, Hugh Davy Evans, are types of men who have guided the church in Convention. But the direct personal appeal of the Evangelicals secured the earliest efforts of laymen in the strictly religious province; from which seed the after-harvest has been so prolific and salutary.

The men who led in this movement were the peers of any in the church. Of the bishops there were Meade and Johns of Virginia, Burgess of Maine, Eastburn of Massachusetts, Henshaw of Rhode Island, Lee of Delaware, Washington Lee of Iowa, Chase of Illinois, Elliott of Georgia, Polk of Louisiana, Smith of Kentucky, Alonzo Potter and Stevens of Pennsylvania. Of the presbyters, Drs. Milnor, Bedell, Johns, and Tyng[1] were most prominent, by reason of their extraordinary pulpit power and the vast numbers whom they gathered into the communion and parish life of the church. Beside them stood John S. Stone of Brooklyn and Boston, Dr. Crocker of Providence, and Dr. Sparrow of the Virginia Seminary, the profoundest theological mind of the party. Then, too, there were Dr. Richard Newton of Philadelphia, who swept the children into the church and developed the Sunday-school into a power; and Alexander H. Vinton of the whole church, a man of the mold of Daniel Webster, "*totus, teres atque rotundus;*" and Samuel Clark, the brother of Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, who himself still stands as an advance-guard of the principles established and the liberties gained by this school. Space and time would alike fail to tell of Ridgely and Suddards and Cutler and Andrews and May, and later of Francis L. Hawks and Heman Dyer, and Drs. Goodwin and Butler, and John Cot-

[1] Dr. Tyng was always considered a typical Low-churchman, but Bishop McIlvaine once remarked of him: "When the church is attacked he is like a thermometer plunged in boiling water, shooting at once up to the highest point." (Dyer, "Records of an Active Life," p. 231.)

all of them men of profound influence, arising
possession of native power and high character.
ne time thought that this school would be the
rful and prominent of any in the church. As
ation, from its very nature, that could hardly
m was not the construction of the wheels of
ut the quickening of the spirit which should
em. In this it was largely successful. Like
the party disappears to reappear in a church
nd ennobled by it.

e turn to their ecclesiastical opponents it is not
ned that the elements most pronounced among
licals were wholly lacking in High-churchmen.
ritual elevation marked many of their leaders,
Hobart, their spiritual father. Who more de-
Otey or more intrepid than Kemper; wiser
ancey or nobler than Whittingham? As we

recognized both the defect and the danger of unregulated religious enthusiasm, and the necessity, for its proper regulation, of ancient precedent and primitive organization. Their idea was a church as distinguished from a denomination, by its being an inheritance instead of a manufacture; a regulative discipline in worship and creed, instead of a modern expression of individual convictions; a valid reproduction of primitive usage, and a trustworthy guide to the spiritual life which it was its object to awaken and sustain by means of the divinely ordered sacraments. In its doctrine of the sacraments it tended to divert men's attention from themselves and their emotions, and fix it upon God's attitude and intention as revealed and ministered in these means of grace. It looked fixedly, in fine, on the objective side of religion as a divine revelation and a positive institution. It was distrustful of all that seemed to overlook the continuity of its connection with the church of apostolic times.

There was in this attitude a reaction from the popular statement that religion is simply a matter between man and his Maker. To this school it was that; but it involved also a relation to the household of faith. There was a corporate as well as an individual life in Christianity, a union with the body of Christ as well as with Christ the head. The union with the head was to be accomplished in the body, therefore the body must be organic, and relation to it must be a duty as well as a choice. Hence the stress laid upon legitimacy of orders and valid administration of the sacraments.

The expression of these fundamental principles was doubtless sometimes narrow and extreme. They were looked at, perhaps, generally from their exclusive rather than their inclusive side; but they were in reality a vindication of spiritual law as distinguished from religious

d, rightly administered, tended to the establish-
ritual freedom from the tyranny of sectarian rule.
vement to indicate the divine authority of the
thus not a mere impulse of ecclesiastical pre-
t came in legitimately in a country where the
left to vindicate and sustain itself without the
r countenance from the state. There was in
new condition of affairs in the history of even
Christianity. In Europe the relations of church
ere fixed and intimate. In Lutheran Germany,
in Reformed England, not only support but
e was given by the civil to the ecclesiastical
Here, for the first time since Constantine, the
ement had been left absolutely without restraint,
ons of ecclesiastical development had been sup-
as exist nowhere else in Christendom. Each
ganization had been allowed free scope, to un-

flicting sects there should arise an institution more permanent, more positive, more primitive, which, claiming apostolic lineage, should maintain the ancient prerogative of fostering and ruling the religious life of men. Thus, while the Evangelicals emphasized personal redemption, the High-churchmen emphasized the spiritual kingdom. Individuals must become incorporate into that supreme and spacious commonwealth, without whose wholesome restraints and benign supervision all bonds would be relaxed, all spiritual progress would falter, and all highest aims of Christian attainment or conquest fail of accomplishment.

Out of this general idea of the church the special views and methods of the High-church party sprang. They were accused of preaching the church rather than Christ; but they preached the church as the body of Christ, in which his Spirit especially dwelt and chiefly manifested its power. They did not advocate the church as a substitute for Christ, but as the vehicle of his own ordaining for the impartation and sustaining of his life. But the persistence with which they cried, "Hear the church," produced the impression that they did not heed the call, "Hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." The odium was attached to them of exalting a visible organization into the place of an invisible power. Externalism was their crying sin in the eyes of the opposite party. The growing attention to the details of worship, and the ordering of churches, and the observance of fasts and feasts, gave rise to the charge of formalism. "There is one body," cried the one; "There is one Spirit," responded the other; and neither seemed to think it possible that both might be united in the "one hope of their calling." What might have been conceived as parallel streams were regarded as countercurrents. The increasing strength of the church imparted

ach tendency, and the waves ran high when the currents met.

rty, however, gathered constant strength from er men, especially those who were educated at ral Theological Seminary, which, situated in , had felt the molding influence of Bishop Ho- the start. Its professors, with the exception of r and Dr. Bird Wilson, stood on essentially the nd. Moore and Seabury, and McVickar and nd Ogilby and Whittingham, left this impress on ls. The Rev. Milo Mahan, coming after them, f the strongest and ablest advocates of High- nship. The influence of the powerful corporation Church, New York, as well as of the bishop of e, was on this side. Bishop De Lancey made it western New York. As far north as Boston, William Croswell made it honorable by the beauty

of gifts and graces. If Whittingham may be considered the learned counselor, Doane was assuredly the powerful advocate, of this school. He was instinct with life. He struck at the roots of church life when he established and made successful St. Mary's School for Girls at Burlington, whereby he spread the influence of the church system through hundreds of families in the persons of the mothers of the coming generation, who were his enthusiastic admirers. He was no mean poet, and added some of the noblest hymns to the literature of the church, and was the first to introduce Keble's "Christian Year" to American churchmen. He may have seen visions and dreamed dreams which were impossible of realization, and which his lack of practical talent made him incompetent to put into permanent and enduring form; but his generous nature, his genuine sincerity, and his commanding talents made him magnetic, and imparted a charm to his act and speech which was itself a power. Such natures must be dominant, and hence opponents called him domineering; but he could no more repress the assertiveness of his churchmanship than a bird can repress its song. Clouds which threatened at one time to settle upon him and obscure his influence were dispersed, not more by the unrivaled skill of his diplomacy than by the commanding assurance of his integrity. For his character was built on solid foundations, though it displayed the traits of a decorated architecture. His courage was undaunted and his conviction keen. Take him for all in all, he was a tower of strength to the High-church school.

That school received an impetus from the Oxford Movement, by which, on the whole, it stood; but this increased the alarm of its opponents, and caused some of its followers to draw back. The publication of Tract 90 produced a ferment in America, as in England. The Roman Catho-

Dr. Kendrick, publicly appealed to the bishops
o the Church of Rome, on the ground that the
cts had yielded almost every ground of dispute
e two communions; and Bishop Hopkins, of
lways ready for controversy, and delighting in
n indignant reply, and in American fashion
Bishop Kendrick to an oral discussion. But it
rey ordination in New York which sounded a
m which sent a shudder through the church, and
op Hopkins to write his celebrated "Letters on
es which Disturb our Peace," which publication
newhat disturbed his own.

nation of Arthur Carey, involving, as it did, the
recognition of the views of Tract 90 as legitimate
h, created an impression altogether out of keep-
importance of the candidate. He was, indeed,
an of marked ability and singular sanctity of

and maintained the constitutional right of the bishop to ordain when he and the constituted authorities were satisfied.

In the heat of the time it could not be seen, but the decision was a protest against personal and partisan rule. Even Dr. Stephen H. Tyng found in it no cause of presentment against the bishop; and Bishop Hopkins, who opposed it, deemed it objectionable as an error of judgment only. Nevertheless the whole church was set on fire. Pamphlets descended in showers. So great was the agitation that Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, of Pennsylvania, deemed it inexpedient for Bishop Hopkins to deliver his lectures on the British Reformation in Philadelphia, lest they should increase the strife. For this he was denounced as a malignant, and not blessed as a peacemaker.

From this time on, until the General Convention of 1844, the Oxford Movement was the great and constant theme of sermons, newspaper articles, and diocesan discussions. Before that Convention assembled, however, an event had occurred which threw a dark shadow over it, and intensified partisan feeling yet more. Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk had been charged in his own diocese with habits of intemperance, with a view to bringing him to trial before his peers. The bishop with manly frankness acknowledged the truth of the accusation, and explained it. He had first used stimulants as a remedy in subduing severe bodily pain, and the habit had grown upon him and given occasion for scandal. He asked the sentence of his brethren without the formality of a trial, and placed his resignation of the jurisdiction of his diocese in the hands of the House of Bishops. The committee to whom the sad matter was committed was not a partisan one. It included Bishops Brownell, Ives, and Hopkins, as well as Bishops Chase and Meade; and their report favored the acceptance of the res-

In response to Bishop Onderdonk's request for
nce as might be deemed proper, the presiding
s empowered to pronounce, in the presence of
of Bishops, a sentence suspending him from all
rcise of the offices and functions of the sacred

tence, excelling in severity, and declared by the
ed legal authority of Horace Binney to be not
t, but uncanonical and illegal, was submitted to
otest by the bishop, who, if he had shown frailty,
yed a noble manliness of acknowledgment and
a sincere repentance. He forthwith gave up all
nulants; and such was the subsequent unsullied
his life that in 1856 his sentence was revoked.
ssible to avoid the conclusion that the heated
rty feeling had unconsciously much to do with
course of the affair. There was as indubitably

The General Convention of 1844, of which this sad history forms a part, was a very stirring one. The long debates, extending from day to day, on the Oxford Movement somewhat cleared the air, but gave rise to no definite action concerning it. The only result was a resolution declaring "the liturgy, offices, and articles of the church sufficient exponents of her sense of the essential doctrines of Holy Scripture; and that the canons of the church afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from her standards; and, further, that the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for the trial and censure of, and that the church is not responsible for, the errors of individuals, whether they are members of this church or otherwise." There were several special measures which diverted the attention from the general theological situation, and thus left the Convention uncommitted to one side or the other. In view of rumors concerning the unsoundness of the General Theological Seminary, a formal visitation of that institution by the bishops, in their capacity as visitors, was decreed. It was made, and resulted in a report of confidence. The case of the confirmation of Rev. Francis L. Hawks, historiographer of the church, as Bishop elect of Mississippi, was the occasion of a long and brilliant debate of a week's duration, which closed with a speech of such unrivaled eloquence by the candidate himself as to leave the Convention in a state of excitement too bewildering for wise decision, so that the matter was relegated to the judgment of the diocese itself.[1] The consecration of the three bishops (Chase of New Hampshire, Cobb of Alabama, and C. S. Hawks of Missouri) during the session, and the nomination of the three missionary bishops (Boone

[1] Dr. Hawks was subsequently triumphantly reëlected, but declined, as he did afterward an election to the diocese of Rhode Island. As an eloquent preacher he had no peer during his life.

n, Freeman for Arkansas, and Southgate for Tur-
o were consecrated immediately after the adjourn-
rned the minds of many from the consideration of
to the region of practical affairs and missionary
ada. The storm passed with less violence than
anticipated.

soon to gather in concentrated form in the trial of
. T. Onderdonk, of New York. Into the particular
of that trial it is not necessary to enter. The bish-
reluctant to undertake it; but the presentment of
by three of their number, on the charge of un-
havior, rendered action imperative. It has been
that had there been an acknowledgment by the
before the trial, of indiscretions which had been mis-
ed as improprieties, no trial would have occurred.
tment of his brother of Pennsylvania does not
warrant such a conclusion. There was generally

trial began on the 10th of December, and continued until the 3d of January.

The accused never flinched from the assertion of his innocence, which he maintained till the day of his death. He was ably defended, but the court of seventeen bishops found him guilty by a majority of eleven to six. Those who voted for acquittal were obliged to join with their opponents in a vote for indefinite suspension from office, in order to avoid a sentence of deposition, which a majority of the court favored. Bishop Onderdonk was, in consequence, suspended, and never restored, though efforts in that direction were made by the New York diocese. It was in 1852 that Dr. Wainwright was made "provisional bishop," and up to that time the diocese was left a prey to faction. The battle was bitter between the supporters and the opposers of the suspended bishop. Bishop Hopkins, in the "Protestant Churchman," on the one hand, and Dr. Samuel Seabury, editor of the "Churchman," on the other, spared nothing of the sharpness of controversy, embittered by both party and personal prejudice. It was the sad evidence of a vigorous household divided against itself. It is as impossible here as in the case of his brother of Pennsylvania to avoid the conclusion that the court could not escape the influence of theological and ecclesiastical dissensions. This was not characteristic of one party only; both were shaking with the same malaria. It is equally impossible to doubt that the sentence expressed the honest conviction of men set for the defense of the purity of the gospel ministry. The suspended bishop had the satisfaction of knowing that the great body of the people of New York persistently maintained his innocence, and that he retained the confidence of some of the first bishops of the church.

The third ecclesiastical trial of a bishop was not in reality a trial, though it gained the reputation of one. It was

prolonged effort to secure a trial on the one side, efeat it on the other. Bishop Doane, of New ad been forced into bankruptcy in his attempt and foster Burlington College for the sons, and s School for the daughters, of the church. Like nan of noble ideas, he lacked the financial skill to hem in a successful institution. The Diocesan on of New Jersey had refused a proposed in- n. The three bishops, Meade, McIlvaine, and than whom three purer never sat upon an bench, felt it imperative for the honor of the at an investigation should be had; for rumors of y, or carelessness amounting to it, were abroad. terly repugnant and distressing to a man of the Bishop Doane to be summoned to the bar of the r moral delinquency. The nobility of his nature om such an accusation even. He was determined

fully exonerated their bishop. The court assembled October 7th, and Bishop Doane resisted all further proceedings by it, on the ground that he had been exonerated by the Diocesan Convention, in July, on most of the charges, and that a canonically called Convention would examine what remained. The court, by a vote of seven to six, conceded the bishop's plea. A third presentment was made, but when a court of twenty-one bishops assembled in Camden, in September, 1853, to take action upon it, such legal points were raised that a committee appointed to consider the matter unanimously reported in favor of dismissing the presentment and discharging the respondent. The court unanimously concurred in the report of the committee, though vindicating the good faith of the presenters; and thus the so-called trial of Bishop Doane was no trial, and he never pleaded to any charge at the bar of the House of Bishops.[1]

During the years of this struggle a notable event in relation to the episcopate had occurred at the South. Bishop Ives, of North Carolina, resigned his office and seceded to the Church of Rome. It was a unique event, no other bishop in the whole Anglican communion having ever before or since taken such a step. The announcement of it was made in a letter to his diocese dated at Rome, December 22, 1852, whose closing sentence was: "I hereby resign into your hands my office as Bishop of North Carolina; and, further, I am determined to make my submission to the Catholic Church."

The act was the culmination of several years of vacillation, wherein the bishop had alternately alarmed and reassured his diocese, now giving assurances and now retracting

[1] The trial of Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, in his own diocese, on a charge of inveracity, resulted yet more grotesquely than the fiasco in New Jersey. The court, chosen by the diocese, returned the verdict "Guilty, but without the least criminality."

a manner which plainly showed the deep perturba-
his mind. His Convention had appointed a com-
f investigation, and he had met it with explanations
ourse as arising from a desire to bring about a
f the Roman, Greek, Anglican, and American
, which he had become satisfied was impracticable.
ons which had been introduced, expressing a want
lence, and asking for his resignation, were with-
The purpose of presenting him to the General Con-
for trial was withheld. He went to Europe for a
of six months in the early autumn of 1852, and,
further notice to his diocese, before sailing left in
s of Archbishop Hughes, of New York, his abjura-
he faith in which he had been bred and exercised
. His church heard of it from Rome, where he
d to the Roman obedience. At the following
Convention of 1853 he was, under the action of a

tion which witnessed the deposition of Bishop Ives saw the beginning of a movement more significant than any which had occurred in the church's history. It was the presentation of the Memorial suggested and composed by Dr. Muhlenberg, and indissolubly identified with his name, which looked to bringing the communion out of the attitude of a denomination into the position of a church. Whatever claims had been made for it, the Protestant Episcopal Church had hitherto been ordered very largely in the spirit of a sect, or a particular household, adapted to a part only of the community, and hemmed in with regulations as to worship and action which could commend it to only a chosen few. Those within, as we have seen, had been clamorous for party predominance rather than for mutual recognition of one another's rights. The impression without had been largely ineffective on the masses of the population. It had made no adequate attempt to be the church of the people; and the Memorial contended that it could not, until its attitude was altered by enlarging the scope of a bishop's action, and by making the arrangements of its own household more flexible.

Before entering more fully into the details or the history of the Memorial Movement, it is well, for the understanding of both, to glance at the person and character of its proposer. William Augustus Muhlenberg was a rare man for any time. The elements of genius were abundant in him, and they were all suffused with the genius of common sense. Opposing qualities met in him, not in contention, but in mutual helpfulness; for a heavenly vision beckoned all his powers, and he was not disobedient to it. His child-like simplicity intensified the manliness of his understanding, while his sanctity of character made itself apparent in the brilliant flashes of his wit as well as in his alms-deeds and prayers. Like Bunyan's Pilgrim when past the De-

Mountains, he "seemed to be in heaven before he
," and he walked through the slums of New York
the streets of the Celestial City. But it was a
practical usefulness. He had

> A heart at leisure from itself,
> To soothe and sympathize.

faith and love issued from his lips, while his hands
sy ministering to the wants of sinful and suffering
e was both a poet and a schoolmaster, and was
as both. He was intensely churchly and broadly
He called himself an Evangelical Catholic, not in
y sense of either term, but as expressive of the
the subjective and objective elements of the church
rmed his ideal. His catholicity embraced Protes-
n admiration and appreciation of which he was very
and his evangelical faith found its expression in an

weekly communion, the divided services, the weekly offertory, the choir of men and boys, the festival commemoration, the Easter flowers, features of worship now general, were introduced by him for the first time in America, and all for the practical edification of the people, as well as for extending the influence of the church and amplifying the sphere of her possibilities. The practical side of church life, as well as the liturgical, found its ample development in him. His was the earliest sisterhood, at first informal, afterward organized. His practice first started the Fresh Air movement for the city's poor. His were the first Christmas trees for the Sunday-school. His Church Infirmary suggested and started his own movement for the founding of St. Luke's Hospital, the first church hospital of any Christian communion in the land.

All these things had taken shape before the Memorial Movement began, and that movement was meant to make possible and widespread in the general church what he had in a limited degree accomplished in his own parish. He loved the church in such measure that he would free it from restrictions which he saw hindered its expansion. He believed in it so intensely that he was sure of its competency to become the church of the nation, if only it would consent to develop its latent resources. As Hobart had reproduced Seabury in larger type and ampler spirit, so Muhlenberg stood related to Bishop White. He shared the large wisdom and broad spirit which had framed a church for a nation, but with the intuition of a seer he detected latent energies in it which might make it the nation's church. All the ardor of his genius was awakened to make real the vision which haunted him. He was an idealist of consummate practical force; and he was bent on transforming what was practically a liturgical denomination into what should be really a catholic church; a church not only in its

t in its accomplishment; a church which should
er of unity to at least Protestant Christendom,
ted to all sorts and conditions of men in the
working of its activities and the multiform adapta-
s worship. He was utterly weary of the conten-
rties who would not understand one another, and
to the importance of combining their energies in
cal work of making the nation Christian and the
preme in it, comprehensive of all types of good-
ressive against all forms of evil.

Memorial[1] there were associated with Dr. Muhlen-
of mark; but he was the informing spirit. It
ssed "To the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal
Council Assembled," but it persisted in regard-
as "a College of Catholic and Apostolic Bishops,"
wide relation to the church of God as such, as
a fragmentary part of it. It did not so much ask
c measures as suggest action according to certain

ant Christendom of our land." Its declaration of ultimate design was "to submit the practicability, under your auspices, of some ecclesiastical system broader and more comprehensive than that which you now administer, surrounding and including the Protestant Episcopal Church as it now is, leaving that church untouched, identical with that church in all its great principles, yet providing for as much freedom in opinion, discipline, and worship as is compatible with the essential faith and order of the gospel. To define and act upon that system, it is believed, must sooner or later be the work of an American catholic episcopate."

This Memorial was signed, together with Dr. Muhlenberg, by such men as Edwin Harwood, Alexander H. Vinton, M. A. De Wolfe Howe, and others, as also, with reservations, by A. Cleveland Coxe, John Henry Hobart, and Francis Vinton. Its scope was, briefly, to preserve intact the Protestant Episcopal Church for those who valued its special features of worship and discipline, but also to extend its jurisdiction over those who did not; in fine, to embrace in its system those who need not submit to its denominational peculiarities. Its aim was to make the church something more than a liturgical section of Christendom, and to show the catholicity of its constitution by the catholicity of its administration, not elevating things desirable to some into things necessary for all, but adapting the apostolic faith and order to the varying wants of communities and men.

This Memorial made a profound impression. The consideration of it was referred to a committee, by a vote of twenty to four, with instructions to report to the next General Convention. Bishop Otey was the chairman, and Bishops G. W. Doane, Alonzo Potter, George Burgess, and John Williams were the members of it, a committee so

as to show the importance attached to the subject.
rch, though startled into interest, was not ready for
me, which, nevertheless, proposed to satisfy the
d aims of both parties: of the Evangelicals, in the
ead of the gospel and the more flexible use of the
of the High-churchmen, by extending the jurisdic-
e episcopate and constituting it the center of unity.
those who reported upon it at the next General
on failed to grasp the fullness of its conception, or
rustful of it.

iminary report was offered at the beginning of the
1856, in expectation of some action at the outset
scussion. It did not go to the heart of the subject,
ated certain concessions or directions in the use of
gy, in the separation of services, and other surface
and recommended that a commission of five bish-
ppointed at each General Convention to sit as a

Memorial was the seed of the revision movement, as it also was of the celebrated Declaration concerning Unity, promulgated at the Convention of 1886, and by the Lambeth Conference of 1888.

But there was one who at the time of the Memorial comprehended its meaning and saw its worth. It was that statesmanlike bishop, Alonzo Potter, of Pennsylvania, who became the champion of the principles which underlay the whole movement. In his efforts to emancipate the liturgy from the slavish yoke of the letter, to remove the bars to the progress of the apostolic ministry, to bring out the undeveloped powers of the church and utilize its every instrument to reach and elevate all conditions of men and departments of life, he showed himself a master builder on the foundations which Dr. Muhlenberg had laid bare.

He had been chosen Bishop of Pennsylvania in 1845, at a time when the Episcopal Church was divided by a wide and deep cleavage into two great parties, each of which regarded the other with distrust, if not aversion. One of these accounted itself as having all the piety, and the other all the loyalty and good manners, in the church. Each of them contemplated the growth of the other as an event to be deprecated and discouraged. At such a juncture Bishop Potter came to Pennsylvania as the choice of a majority, but not a large majority, of the clergy and laity, and in the expectation that he would be a tolerant bishop. Men soon found that he was something else, and more. He was sometimes called the "schoolmaster bishop," and his training was occasionally thought to smack of the classroom and the college from which he had come. But as a matter of fact Union College had been the best training for the task to which he was called. He was neither unctuous nor "sacerdotal" in his manners, but he was intelligently sympathetic.

ad, indeed, been a parish minister as rector of
's Church, Boston, in his earlier years; but he had
ely outgrown that parochial conception of episco-
inistration which bishops too often take into their
office. From the outset he showed himself not
a tolerant but a comprehensive bishop, who recog-
xplicitly that the various schools of thought in the
have each their rightful place as representing one
er aspect of the many-sided truth of which it is the
n and keeper, and as set to preserve it from being
d or lost sight of. In this spirit he welcomed men
variety of opinion and usage to his diocese, and
avoided a policy too common in the episcopate,
eeks to fill a diocese with clergy who are more or
imitations of its ordinary. In this way he secured
some and hospitable atmosphere for the best in-
e and the best endeavors which the diocese could

different to him. The urgent social questions of his generation found in him a wise and thoughtful student; and every serious endeavor for their solution, a friend and pioneer.

In this way before long he became a recognized force and leader in the whole community, and illustrated in his episcopate the highest order of ecclesiastical statesmanship. He never intrigued for ecclesiastical advantage, or clamored for official recognition; but the church won friends everywhere, and his office evoked a confidence wholly unprecedented, because he interpreted both in a way so large and noble to the best intelligence of his generation. When his work in Pennsylvania was ended, the Episcopal Church in that great commonwealth, and the office of a bishop, had come to be, in the minds of its citizens, something other and more than they had ever before conceived them.

Through the Memorial, whose chronicles and papers Bishop Potter gathered and preserved for future guidance and inspiration, the church had received a summons to a united and positive advance, which should bring its action into accord with its principles, and fill it with one spirit amid all its diversities of operation. It was too great an idea to gain instant acceptance, or to act other than as a leaven to raise the lump to the height of its conception. To "give over the attempt to cast all men's minds into one mold"; to "cherish among her own members mutual tolerance of opinion in doctrine and taste in worship"; in fine, to be truly catholic, as well as claim to be catholic—all this the author of the Memorial did not cease to urge. But it required the tumult of the ritualistic rising and controversy, and the secession of the Reformed Episcopal communion, before the church, through sad experience, learned more adequately to comprehend the spirit which might have prevented both. Nevertheless it went on its way, quickened by an impulse which it could not fully embody.

his time on to the beginning of the Civil War,
ring its continuance parted it into two separate
he church's energy and progress were not in-
ble. The influential and distracted diocese of
k became placated and prosperous under the
y policy of its provisional bishops. The short
e of the courtly and thoroughly Christian, Wain-
o soon accomplished, struck the key-note which
sor, Bishop Horatio Potter, was apt and keen to
nd develop. The convictions and sympathies of
were not concealed, but they were not permitted
with the rights of others. His conservative nature
loof from active propagandism ; and, while diligent
ul in a sphere of peculiar difficulty, he showed a
nactivity in regard to the causes of ecclesiastical
which resulted in the subsidence of angry and
eling. His was the Fabian policy, which in its

Bishop George Burgess, of Maine, was making the impression of his scholarly mind and earnest soul visible through all New England, of which at this time he was the most able and eminent representative. California and Oregon had received their bishops, and no more glances were thrown toward the Greek Church across the Pacific, which in the very beginning, when California seemed nearer to Russia than to the Eastern United States, had been contemplated as a source of orders for the churchmen gathered there. The church life, which had been cherished by the Rev. Flavel S. Mines during the years before Bishop Kip came, was now becoming regularly organized. At the Northwest, lying east of the Rocky Mountains the apostolic, Kemper, after founding and fostering the church in Missouri, Indiana, Iowa, and Minnesota, through incredibel hardships and by a devotion as heroic as had marked any age of the church, accepted the bishopric of Wisconsin in 1859, taking the title of missionary bishop in that wilderness jurisdiction, but not changing his work. The associate mission at Nashotah, where he resided, had become an important center of education, both secular and theological, for the region; and James Lloyd Breck, who had assisted at its foundation in 1841, in 1857 founded the educational institutions of Faribault, Minn., which Bishop Whipple, since 1859, has so wonderfully developed. The work of Breck deserves larger recognition than it is possible to give it here. It was a marvelous instance of religious devotion in adhesion to the strictest ecclesiastical principles, and combined with a pioneer instinct which made him restless at the approach of the civilization for whose advantage his numerous schools were established and his many churches formed. He founded them so securely that when left to the care of others they survived and grew, while he pressed on to new efforts for Indians yet more remote and for set-

more recent in the regions beyond. He appro-
found his last work in establishing a school at
in California, only stayed, it would seem, by the
Ocean from regions more distant still. Had Sitka
rs then, it would have beckoned him irresistibly.
rit of restlessness was the spirit, not of an adven-
t of a founder; and the fruit of his labors is the
nt possession of the church in those far-off regions
ch he opened the way for her.

esult of all these labors, North, South, East, and
as soon to suffer shock by the disruption of the
r. The Episcopal Church as an organization had,
beginning, determined to keep aloof from party
and, more fully than other ecclesiastical bodies,
e so. Her membership was very varied among the
al classes of society. Many of the distinguished
n of all parties were of her communion. They

copal Church had cared for the slave. In South Carolina there were a hundred and fifty congregations of negroes for a hundred of whites; and the devotion of masters and mistresses to their servants' religious welfare was in many cases of the most patriarchal and self-sacrificing character.

The Bishop of Virginia preached a Convention sermon on the duty owed by the whites to the negroes; Bishop Polk, a large slave-holder, cared diligently for his servants; and there were thousands of communicants among the colored people. The whole attitude of the negroes toward the white population during the war, while a conspicuous tribute to the noble and winning traits of their race, showed unmistakably that their masters had largely won their love, as well as awed them by authority. The conviction of Northern churchmen as to the evils of the institution, and their religious and political aversion to it, had not blinded them to those practical ameliorations of the system with which their ecclesiastical intercourse with Southerners had made them familiar.

Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio, the most conspicuous of the Northern bishops in the cause of the Union, was in closest bonds of religious and ecclesiastical sympathy with that most ardent secessionist, Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, who had been converted under his ministry while a cadet at West Point. They prayed for each other by name every Sunday morning. There was no religious household in the land into which the coming of the Civil War introduced more personal distress than that of the Episcopal Church.

At first some of the Southern bishops deprecated secession, notably Meade of Virginia and Otey of Tennessee; but when their States seceded they joined heart and soul with Elliott of Georgia and Davis of South Carolina, who had ardently fanned it from the first; and it was the aged

ho cautiously counseled the more youthful Polk
he army, and use the military education he had
at West Point for the advantage of the en-
Confederacy. It was a unique position for a
t bishop; but it was reluctantly undertaken from
est sense of duty, and discharged in the spirit
tian warrior. On the other hand, Bishop Whit-
of Maryland, not a Southerner by birth, stood
for the Union, with an unswerving intrepidity,
evered friendships and in a divided diocese. But
pate the church's action.

npliance with a call issued before the States of
North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas had
the Bishops of South Carolina, Georgia, Mis-
Florida, and Texas, together with clerical and lay
, met in Convention in Montgomery, Ala., July 3,
t was unanimously resolved that the secession

majority, in opposition to a proposal to eliminate "Protestant" from the title, or to substitute the name "Reformed Catholic." The diocese of Alabama was empowered to proceed, under existing regulations, to elect a bishop. After the adjournment of the Convention Dr. R. H. Wilmer was elected Bishop of Alabama, and was consecrated by Bishop Meade in Richmond, Va., March 6, 1862. By this act more strongly than by any resolution the church proclaimed itself an independent ecclesiastical body. Yet the whole attitude of the body, while maintaining with unmistakable emphasis its political or national independence, was one of thorough accord with the old church in all other respects. The resolutions, the reports, the pastoral letters issued from time to time, breathed a spirit of friendly intercommunion in all ecclesiastical and doctrinal affairs. In the ordering of divine Providence the separate existence of the church in the Confederate States was of so brief a continuance that there is no need to further trace its history.[1] Its action was such as to leave no invincible obstacle to a complete reunion when once the political situation was changed. Its one bishop who had entered the Southern army had fallen, and all men honored his motive and his spirit, while they deplored his action and his fate. Arkansas, which had become a diocese, of necessity lapsed into its previous condition as a missionary jurisdiction, and its bishop was continued in the position to which he had been appointed before the war. The consecration of the Bishop of Alabama was confirmed and ratified on his making the usual "promise of conformity comprised in the Office for the Consecration of Bishops."

The attitude of the church at the North was identical

[1] For a complete account see Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," vol. ii., pp. 560–592, being a monograph by Rev. John Fulton, D.D., entitled "The Church in the Confederate States." It is ample, thorough, and impartial.

of the national government. It refused to ac-
that the church was broken up, just as the
fused to acknowledge that it was rent asunder.
rupture, but not permanent disruption. At the
onvention held in New York in 1862, though but
ır bishops were present and only twenty-two
ere represented, the roll-call included each day
of the Southern dioceses. They were absent,
members. It was a time of great uncertainty
esult of hostilities. The weight and meaning of
ere then just beginning to be fully understood,
uestion came whether the indorsement of the
ıt in its supreme struggle for life and being was
rded as ordinary politics, and as such, according
nt, eschewed; or whether it was to be considered
national duty, binding on church and state alike,
e of and superior to all party obligation. There

ceeded to do so in the face of a limited but vigorous protest. The House of Clerical and Lay Delegates passed the resolutions of the committee of nine, of which the third is expressive of their purport, and which ran as follows: "*Resolved*, That while as individuals and as citizens we acknowledge our whole duty in sustaining and defending our country in the great struggle in which it is engaged, we are only at liberty, as deputies to this council of a church which hath ever renounced all political association and action, to pledge to the national government—as we do now—the earnest and devout prayers of us all that its efforts may be so guided by wisdom and replenished with strength that they may be crowned with speedy and complete success, to the glory of God and the restoration of our beloved Union."

A solemn service was held by the Convention in Trinity Church, whose rector [1] was the son of one of the most distinguished Union generals; being "a service of fasting, humiliation, and prayer," in view "of the present afflicted condition of the country"; and the offertory at the service was in behalf of the Sanitary Commission. By word and deed the church thus stood boldly and unfalteringly by the nation, as thoroughly identified with its cause as the church in the Confederate States was identified with the newly projected government at the South. This attitude was

[1] The Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D., the rector for more than thirty-five years of Trinity Church, New York City, is distinguished in the literary as well as the theological world as the author of "The Life of General Dix," his father, and also of sermons and lectures on many topics of ecclesiastical interest. Besides recognition of his efficient management of the vast concerns of his great parish, he is entitled to the gratitude and admiration of the whole church for the dignity, impartiality, and intelligence with which he has presided during four sessions of the General Convention over the proceedings of the House of Deputies. The justness of his rulings, combined with the courtesy of his manners, has guided the legislature of the church safely through many perils, and has largely contributed to the confidence and satisfaction with which its action has been received.

d in the pastoral letter of the House of Bishops,
under circumstances of unusual solemnity, at
norning service, which included, contrary to pre-
om, the administration of the holy communion.
ral letter made the more marked impression be-
ad been the subject of controversy. By reason
ess of Bishop Brownell, Bishop Hopkins, of Ver-
next in succession, took his place as presiding
the Convention, and he had prepared a draft of
letter excluding all reference to the national crisis
nt and opposed to proper ecclesiastical action.
strenuous in his opposition to the pastoral letter
the conspicuously loyal Bishop of Ohio [1] that he
appear in the chancel at the service when it was
the chair of the acting presiding bishop was
usly vacant until after its delivery. That which
s personal disapprobation emphasized the more

disloyalty to the government. He desired the perpetuity of the Union, but his loyalty was clogged by the conviction, expressed by him in a pamphlet, that secession was a constitutional right of the States. He proposed to submit the question for settlement to the Supreme Court, a procedure which, under the circumstances, was like committing the management of a coming cyclone to a meteorological bureau. The pamphlet containing these sentiments was written, as hostilities were awakening, to prove the right of negro slavery to exist to-day from the recognition of white slavery of old in the Bible. Thus committed to the right of secession and the moral lawfulness of the institution in whose defense it was attempted, Bishop Hopkins was out of sympathy with the public sentiment about him. He did not mind that. The *per fervidum ingenium* of his Celtic blood inclined him to controversy, and he had long been conspicuous in it. He was a man of versatile talents. Literature, art, science, music, as well as law and theology, occupied at times his attention, and he was thus regarded more as a widely read than as a deeply learned man. His legal training, which was his strong point, inclined him to rest content in precedent rather than to profoundly study ultimate principles. In the expression of his opinions there was an assertive eloquence which affirmed the positiveness of his own convictions, and which attracted attention even when it failed to secure the conviction of others. He had not always appeared on the same side of ecclesiastical questions, and the variations of the needle had been too marked to enable him to point with certainty the course which the church might think best to follow. Concerning the political situation he was, however, as dogmatic as in theology, and he determined that the church should follow his bent even if it did not share his opinions. His design was frustrated, and his

e and disapproval found vent in a protest
or the public and scattered broadcast by the
rs; and his pamphlet on slavery was a little later
and used as a campaign document.[1] This action
npression in regard to the church which threat-
cloud its loyal attitude, and Bishop Alonzo Pot-
nsylvania, published a public protest against it.
of Bishop Hopkins was soon seen to be personal,
shop Potter to be representative of the church.
the action and sentiments of Bishop Hopkins
suffered to damage the church's loyal position,
uent relations of sympathy with the South were
restoring unity when the war ended. By that
ad, through the death of Bishop Brownell (June
become presiding bishop of the church. Before
ng of the General Convention in the autumn of
vrote in his official capacity a circular letter to

some of the bishops left the chancel and sought him amid the worshipers and urged his presence among them, the public recognition was too convincing of the general sentiment, and he yielded and joined them at the altar, to the great joy of all present. At the first business session of the Convention the secretary of the House of Deputies proceeded, as he had at the Convention of 1862, to call for the Southern deputies, the roll beginning with Alabama. The general failure of response did not diminish the validity of the recognition, and the answer to the roll-call by clerical and lay delegates from Tennessee, North Carolina, and Texas gave indication and promise that the absence of the South was but temporary. Bishop Lay, of the Southwest, had joined Bishop Atkinson, of North Carolina, in Philadelphia, and they together sent an inquiry, through Bishop Horatio Potter, to the House of Bishops concerning the terms on which they would be permitted to take their seats in the house. The Bishop of Maryland, whose loyalty was as unquestioned as his greatness, moved that "the Bishop of New York be requested to ask his brethren, in behalf of whom he had consulted the house, to trust to the honor and love of their assembled brethren." Such courtesy and confidence were irresistible. The reunion of the church was cemented by the charity which "thinketh no evil." As the church had maintained its loyalty, so it could without peril manifest its concession; and in the service of "thanksgiving for the restoration of peace to the country and unity to the church" it refrained from all expressions which could wound those who were once again represented in its assembly. Some thought that too much deference was shown, but it was an indication of a spirit of reconciliation and peace. The few obstacles to complete reunion, as we have before related, were soon removed, and all traces of strife presently vanished away.

ch, which in 1859 had, by the election of Dr. Tal-
ishop of Nebraska and the Northwest, and of
s Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the South-
le its jurisdiction coextensive with the boundaries
ited States, was again one throughout the whole
domain. The consecration of Bishop Quintard
cant Southern diocese of Tennessee crowned the
eunion by a most significant act; and the presence
cipation in the service of Bishop Fulford, metro-
f Montreal, contributed to a growing sense of
of the church throughout the whole American
.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE REUNION OF THE CHURCH TO THE PRESENT TIME (1865–95).

THE fullness of life which characterized the nation after the cessation of the war was characteristic also of the church. Before that lamentable interruption of its activities all the elements of successful advance had been found present in it. It had become in 1859 coextensive in its episcópate with the national domain. It was increasing its educational institutions. Its missionary operations were thoroughly organized and efficient. Its worship was taking on a warmer tone, and its church buildings displaying a nobler type. The controversies through which it had passed had sobered its mind and softened its heart. Even its course during the war was one of advancing growth.

All the favorable features of its organization now received an impetus and an enlargement consequent on the experience which the civil conflict had engendered. The movements of armies, constituted largely in their ranks as in their officers of the educated classes, had given a larger scope to the general intelligence. Men had traveled far, and seen strange communities, and awakened to a sense of wider relations, in their pursuit of war. All forms of religious belief and organization had been jostled together in the companionship of arms, and the humanitarian work of the Sanitary and Christian commissions had enlisted the labors of Christians of every name. The chaplains of the

ministered to every variety of faith among the
and had illustrated every variety of faith among
es. This larger association of both laity and
ad widened their mental horizon, while the
es of war had deepened religious conviction. A
of the best bishops of this latter period, such as
Texas, Galleher of Louisiana, and Dudley of
, came from the officers of the Confederate army,
ey had learned to know the stern realities of life
necessity of religion to meet and mitigate them.
lains of the Union army and those whom they
d had gone through the same educative process.
strange that the church should emerge from this
of blood with a nobler consecration and an en-
nception of her task. That she was not freed
ny clogging infirmities the record of these last
ars abundantly proves, but the record also shows

God," by Rev. Elisha Mulford, a far wider vision and a deeper philosophical conception, as well as a nobler literary form, than in any theological literature the church had previously produced.

Again, in her educational life the church in the last thirty years has greatly enlarged, as well as deepened, her work. The Philadelphia Divinity School was incorporated, under the auspices of Bishop Alonzo Potter, in the early years of the war, in 1862, when Northern students were cut off from the seminary at Alexandria. It was founded in no narrow spirit, but with the liberal conceptions of its great patron; and its course, under the able Dr. Goodwin, the scholarly Dr. G. Emlen Hare, and the genial and widely read Dr. Clement Butler, has been one of marked ability and value. The Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass., was incorporated just after the war, in 1867, founded by the munificence of Mr. Benjamin T. Reed, and since endowed with princely gifts by Mr. Robert M. Mason, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, and Mr. John A. Burnham, all of Boston. Under its successive deans, Dr. John S. Stone, Dr. George Zabriskie Gray, and Dr. (now Bishop) William Lawrence, together with its distinguished professors, it has made itself a power in the church. In the words of Dean Gray, "The aim has been to be independent of all schools or parties, and to make the teaching as comprehensive as the church itself, and as impartial toward all loyal members thereof." These two institutions, with the Western Theological Seminary, inaugurated at Chicago in 1885, are the principal new foundations for theological education of this period, but the schools earlier formed have also greatly increased their efficiency. The General Theological Seminary in New York has enlarged its teaching faculty and developed its curriculum and multiplied its students under the recent rule of Dean Hoffman, whose

ce has increased its endowments and built a theo-
lace for its habitation. The Alexandria seminary
s been noted, been rejuvenated since the war. The
Divinity School at Middletown, Conn., founded in
continued to send out men whom the church de-
make bishops, hoping, doubtless, that they may in
reflect the calm wisdom and intellectual poise of
ling bishop, who is its president. At the West,
has greatly strengthened her work, and the Sea-
inity School at Faribault, Minn., has, under the
n of Bishop Whipple, recreated itself, and become
which the ardent Breck, who founded it in 1857,
h all his prophetic imagination have hardly con-
Besides these institutions, where the color-line is
drawn, special provisions for the instruction of
andidates for the ministry have been made in the
ns of Hoffman Hall, Nashville, Tenn., King Hall

be a sort of St. Stephen's to the Nashotah Seminary, its whole effective life was bound up in Dr. James De Koven, who became warden in 1859. Dr. De Koven really made the institution all it ever came to be. He was a singularly magnetic man, and full of enthusiasm, imbued with the views of the advanced school, and their eloquent defender in the General Convention. He purposed making Racine "the church university of the West and Northwest"; and it was changed from a diocesan to a general institution in 1868, and in 1875 collegiate departments were established. So long as his presence was assured, students flocked to the college, and his hold upon the young men was extraordinary. But four years after his university scheme was developed he died, and from that sad date, March 19, 1879, the institution has been unable to realize the expectations which his genius had created for it. It is now conducted as a grammar-school.

Lehigh University, a collegiate and polytechnic institution, was founded and munificently endowed at South Bethlehem in 1865, by Asa Packer, a leading churchman of the diocese. It is conducted under general church auspices, but, like Columbia College, New York, is not in the restricted sense a church institution. It is already a great college, and stands deservedly high, especially in its scientific departments. Kenyon College, Ohio, founded so long ago by Bishop Chase, is also, under Bishop Leonard, developing a new and stronger life, with Bexley Hall as its theological department. In this period, too, Columbia College, first under President Barnard and since under President Low, has developed into a university of the first rank, and for scholarly influence in the church stands conspicuous above all its fellows. The munificent gifts of President Low and Mr. William C. Schermerhorn made while these sheets are passing through the press, show the con-

f its friends in its future as one of the greatest foundations in the land.

College, at Geneva, N. Y., which, as we have begun by Bishop Hobart as an academy in 1811, received its collegiate charter in 1825 and took of its founder only in 1860, has within the last les made steady progress under the presidency of alet Potter, brother of the Bishop of New York. ing the isolation and limitation of the scattered church colleges through the country, President oved the General Convention in 1889 to estab- Church University Board of Regents," with the urpose of coördinating the separate church col- a church university system. Already certain ps, to be awarded by the university examining the best competitor from any church institution, n founded and awarded, and should the plan

bishops are on its board of trustees, Bishop Dudley, of Kentucky, being chancellor of the university and president of the board. For the details of its history and struggle there is no space, but it were unjust not to mention the great debt it owes for its remarkable measure of success to the ability and devotion of Dr. Thomas F. Gailor as chancellor, now assistant Bishop of Tennessee. According to the record of Dr. Du Bose, the accomplished dean of its theological faculty, "The University of the South was conceived in the most catholic spirit, and is designed to be in the truest sense broad and comprehensive. Under the control and influence of the church, it draws to itself representatives of all faiths and opinions. The North as well as the South, and England as well as America, have always contributed to its list of students. In every department of learning the utmost freedom of thought and research is allowed and practiced, influenced, but not restrained or narrowed, by the Christian character of the institution. As a church university it has this guaranty against any one-sided development in matter of doctrine or practice, against its ever becoming identified with any one school or party in the church: that it represents a wide constituency, and most particularly that its religious teaching and worship are under the immediate and constant supervision of the twelve bishops associated in it." In its endeavor to represent the whole church it has struck the true key-note of a church institution.

It was the happy thought of the late lamented Bishop Harris, of Michigan, to utilize the State University for the use of the church, instead of setting up a feeble rivalry to it by inaugurating a separate church college. He made arrangements, through the generous aid of Governor Baldwin, a leading churchman of his diocese, for a hall and lecture and reading rooms at Ann Arbor, where the course

ate University might be supplemented with lec-
instruction in those subjects which churchmen
importance, and thus utilizes for the church the
lowment and its distinguished faculty, in respect
neral subjects which all universities teach in com-
his most wise adaptation of church teaching to
m of public education has met the cordial en-
ent of the distinguished President Angell, of the
y of Michigan, and of the faculty, and has given
urch the advantages of an institution of the first
he example has been followed elsewhere, and is
of larger application.

the educational efforts in the church, however,
lishment of church preparatory schools has won
st measure of distinction and success. The school
ge of Dr. Muhlenberg at Flushing and College

where the Catechism has been the basis of religious instruction, and the ritual of the church duly rendered in a glowing and beautiful service. Its aim has been to cultivate Christian character as well as to impart sound scholarship. And it has been eminently successful. In its influence on the church schools which have sprung up in its wake all over the land (notably St. Mark's at Southboro', the school of Dr. Peabody at Groton, Mass., and the school of Dr. Toomer Porter at Charleston, S. C.) it has stood as Rugby stood to the English public schools after Dr. Arnold became its incomparable head master. From a group of five or six boys it has grown to an assemblage of about three hundred scholars. From one or two small buildings its ample halls and dormitories and noble chapel have enlarged its appearance to that of a village. And this extension of its outward features has been but commensurate with and expressive of the excellence of its scholarship and the elevation of its moral tone. This great work is due in abounding measure to Dr. Coit. It is, of course, evident that he was a good scholar, a devout Christian, and a thorough gentleman; but these elements of character are incompetent to explain his phenomenal success, without the higher attribute of educational genius, which was largely his. His recent death is a loss to the whole church which it is impossible to adequately measure.

Numerous church schools for girls (of which St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J., still efficiently maintained, was the norm and type) are found all over the land: in the Wolfe School at Denver, Colorado, and St. Mary's Hall, Faribault, as well as in St. Agnes's at Albany, and St. Mary's, of the Cathedral Foundation, at Garden City, Long Island. These schools are a chief instrument of gaining and extending church influence in the newer missionary jurisdictions.

In fine, in the matter of preparatory education the

hools within the last thirty years have taken rank
older foundations at Exeter and Andover, and
generous rivalry with them.

missionary activity the last period of the church's
re than abreast with that of its past history. It
ch to the able men who have been its agents and
s. One of them, Dr. A. T. Twing, served the
Board from 1866 to 1882, and by incessant zeal
mparable tact invigorated the whole department.
the contributions for domestic missions were
in 1882 they amounted to $228,375. When Dr.
ecame secretary there were but four missionary
nd ninety-nine missionaries; when he died these
eased to thirteen missionary bishops and three
and forty-six clergymen. Among them are
d some of the noblest sons of the church, whose

And there are Spalding of Colorado, Elliott of Western Texas, Wingfield of Northern California, Garrett of Northern Texas, Dunlop of New Mexico, Brewer of Montana, and Paddock of Washington, all sent out to "perils in the wilderness" before 1880 had ended. Within the last decade we find added to this efficient staff Walker of North Dakota, Talbot of Wyoming and Idaho, Johnson of Western Texas, Leonard of Nevada and Utah, Kendrick of Arizona and New Mexico, Graves of the Platte, Wells of Spokane, Gray of Southern Florida, Brooke of Oklahoma, and Barker of Western Colorado. A record of names is but a slight tribute to labors such as theirs, and only a faint indication of the vast results accomplished by them for the church. While planting churches and founding schools, these have confronted the Mormon with her message, and welcomed the Indian to her fold.

In the department of foreign missions the church does not show a proportionate development, and for the reason that domestic missions are largely foreign, in their ministrations to the natives of all European and Eastern countries who throng the Western territories. China, Japan, India, Armenia, as well as all the countries of Europe, continue sending swarms of their poorer people to America, with no shepherd to fold them, and foreign missions lie at our very door. But the church has in this period sent out witnesses to other lands. As she had preceded the English Church in appointing a bishop for China in 1844, so, after Japan had been opened to the Western world by Commodore Perry, in 1852, she preceded her mother in that country. Two missionaries were sent to Japan in 1859, and one of them, the Rev. Channing M. Williams, was consecrated Bishop of Yedo in 1866, taking also jurisdiction in China, Bishop Boone having died two years before. Incessant toil and slow gains marked his episcopate at first; but

t, with a singleness of aim," he got at last a foot-
is admirable mission and established an efficient
chool, as well as St. Paul's College, at Tokyo.
e able management of Rev. Theodosius S. Tyng,
ools are educating natives for missionary work,
ren in the Christian faith. After the resignation
Williams, in 1889, the Rev. John McKim, D.D.,
ecrated his successor as Bishop of Tokyo. The
he church's labors in Japan are to be found in the
t possesses 76 mission stations, 20 clergy, 1 mis-
nysician, 25 foreign teachers and workers (includ-
of missionaries), 153 Japanese assistants, 17 pos-
r orders; and that its last yearly record shows 273
251 confirmations, 1597 communicants, 1141 day-
226 boarding-scholars, and 2113 Sunday-school

na the Rt. Rev. Dr. Schereschewsky succeeded

but receives aid from the church in the United States. Its condition in 1894 was as follows: clergy, 14; mission stations, 15; postulants, 2; lay readers, 19; teachers, 10; Sunday-school teachers, 10; baptisms, 51; confirmations, 33; communicants, 389; day-scholars, 244; Sunday-school scholars, 229. There is also a mission in Cuba, conducted by an American and two native presbyters, under the episcopal charge of Bishop Whitaker, of Pennsylvania, and in the care of the American Church Missionary Society, acting as an auxiliary to the Board of Missions. A Brazilian mission under the same care, and superintended by Bishop Peterkin, of West Virginia, is conducted by the Rev. Lucius L. Kingsolving and various native clergy. In 1894 it reported: stations, 14; chapels, 6; clergy, 8; baptisms, 50; confirmations, 142; communicants, 174; services, 838; Sunday-schools, 4; teachers, 16; scholars, 235; parochial day-schools, 3; teachers, 8; scholars, 120.

The mission to Africa has been sustained, though out of the 87 missionaries sent, all but 3 have died or have returned on account of ill health, and though all the Southern bishops are more or less African missionaries in their charge over the colored race. It has met with a series of misfortunes either in the death or the resignations, made necessary by the fatal climate, of those appointed to its episcopal supervision. Bishop Payne, appointed in 1851, resigned after twenty years of faithful labor, in 1871; and his successor, Bishop Auer, appointed in 1873, soon after died. Bishop Penick, consecrated in 1877, had to resign in 1883, but still continues earnestly laboring for the race in America, as the energetic agent of the church's Commission for Work among the Colored People. His place in Africa has been taken by the colored Bishop Ferguson, as bishop of the missionary jurisdiction of Cape Palmas and parts adjacent. He was appointed in 1885, and by reason of his race, it is

ill be capable of withstanding the ravages of the climate. The condition of the mission is shown llowing statistics for the year ending June 30, ergy, 16; mission stations, 53; candidates for iberian 6, native 3), 9; postulants (Liberian 6, 7; lay readers, 18; catechists and teachers, 30; achers, 13; baptisms, 250; confirmations, 118; cants, 1185; Sunday-school scholars, 1552; and day scholars, 1293. There are 23 day- 12 boarding-schools, and 31 Sunday-schools in cted with the mission.

ommission for Work among the Colored People ttingly mentioned here, though its place is in the nt of domestic missions. It was in 1886 that the Convention formally recognized this special form nary labor, which had been informally carried on 5, by the churches in various dioceses; and which oduct of the war in its enfranchisement of the

as black, and the Bishop of Georgia reports one tenth of the communicants in his diocese as black.

The mission in Mexico is still carried on, though the original organization of the Reformed Church there is, by the church's own action, temporarily in abeyance. The government is now in the *Cuerpo Ecclesiastico*, which consists of the clergy and lay representatives of the congregations, the episcopal authority being, by election of the *Cuerpo*, in the presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Bishop of New Mexico and Arizona is the commissary of the presiding bishop, with power to act for him; and the presbyter, Henry Forrester, is the resident representative in Mexico, appointed to guide and counsel the local authorities. Its present status is seen by the following statistics: priests, 5; deacons, 2; candidates for orders, 5; other readers, 7; congregations, 22; day-schools in same, 10; teachers, 10; scholars, 400. This mission has caused the church more perplexity and disappointment than all the others combined. A reformed movement arose in 1854 among the Roman clergy in the city of Mexico, and, failing to gain favorable response to their application to the Pope, in 1866 they chose a bishop and applied to the presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church for his consecration. The constitutional provisions of this church did not allow it. A visiting commission from Mexico in 1868 secured the services of the Rev. H. C. Riley, presbyter of the church, who returned with them, and gathered, in company with Aguas, a Roman priest of high standing, several congregations, and organized a Synod. In response to a memorial from "members of the Synod of the Church of Jesus in Mexico," presented to the House of Bishops at the General Convention of 1874 by Bishop Lee, of Delaware, a commission of great dignity, comprising the names of Whittingham, Stevens,

n, Lee, Coxe, Bedell, and Kerfoot, was appointed
er their petition "to take such measures as may
e granting of the episcopate" to the new Mexican
rganization. At the instance of this committee
ee made a visitation to Mexico, confirming over a
persons and ordaining seven men as deacons and
riests. As a result of this visitation the Church
vas recognized as a foreign church under the care
otestant Episcopal Church until it should have a
number of bishops; assent having been given to
ne, discipline, and worship. Dr. Riley was con-
Bishop of the Valley of Mexico in 1879, in Pitts-
The appointment proved unsatisfactory, and
years, in April, 1884, Bishop Riley resigned his
on, promising to forego all exercise of his episco-
in Mexico or elsewhere without the consent of
can Commission, or other lawful authority of the

into the province of the Church of Rome. The House of Bishops, however, simply acted on the principle, without explicitly defining it, that when the sacraments are denied and excommunication is threatened to those who do not accept the errors which the English Church rejected at the Reformation, then a purer form of the church may be lawfully introduced. They saw that to refuse compliance with a request like that of the Church of Jesus in Mexico would be to reflect on the validity of their own principles and position, as well as to deprive of the benefits of the church those who were excommunicate because they were in essential agreement with themselves. The law of etiquette, they felt, must give way to the law of life.

Other missions have been carried on in the church, if not always by it. There is a Society for the Propagation of Christianity among the Jews, and also for Work among the Colored People, as has been stated. A very noble effort for ministrations of the church to deaf-mutes was organized as early as 1850, but its efficiency has been chiefly confined to this period of the church's history, and it has been especially championed by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Gallaudet, of New York, under whose efficient labors it has come to pass that the majority of the fifty thousand deaf-mutes of the country are under the influence of the church's teaching.

The churches and chapels on the continent of Europe may here be mentioned, not as a part of the church's mission work, but as illustrating the expansion of her organization wherever her children are gathered. Such churches have grown up gradually where an American colony has established itself, as in Paris, Rome, Florence, Nice, Dresden, Geneva, and Lucerne. The chief church abroad is the Holy Trinity at Paris, whose rector, Rev. John B. Morgan, D.D., has been able to have built one of the noblest

church edifices in Europe, whose organization is a religious power in the French capital. St. Paul's at under the charge for many years of R. J. Nevin, th its beautiful edifice, stands for a pure catholicity midst of the papal city, and with its hospital and nurses illustrates its practical benevolence. Nice, and Dresden have also fine church structures and tive work. These churches all form part of the urch, and are under the charge at the present time ishop of Albany, who visits them and confirms in

rts of benevolent institutions have arisen in the within this last period of its history. Church hos- children, for cripples, for adults, homes for the e infirm, the incurable, Girls' Friendly Societies, r helpful associations, have multiplied; and the y of Christ as well as his divinity has found ex-

rector of the parish. But these and other similar associations were simply local and isolated parochial organizations. The Woman's Auxiliary, as a general church organization, was authorized by the Board of Missions in October, 1871. It owes its great measure of success largely to the wise plans and indefatigable labors of its secretaries, the first of whom, Miss Mary A. Emery (who now, as Mrs. A. T. Twing, is honorary secretary), for four years worked assiduously to fix and extend its organization, and who was succeeded by her sister, Miss Julia C. Emery, its present secretary, who has shown equal capacity in the management and extension of what is now a great organization. It is not a self-constituted and independent society, but is a department of the Board of Missions which seeks to glean the fields already harvested. It, together with the Junior Auxiliary, which enlists the interest of the children and young people of the church, adds over $350,000 annually (in money and the value of boxes of clothing and books) to the general missionary treasury, and in the twenty-three years of its existence has gathered over $4,000,000 for missionary work. Besides its general officers, the auxiliary has over five hundred diocesan officers in sixty-five dioceses and missionary jurisdictions, including the officers of the Junior Auxiliary. It has aided materially in a few instances in the education of the children of missionaries. The auxiliary meets once in three years, at the time and place of meeting of the General Convention. Its diocesan branches meet annually, semi-annually, quarterly, monthly, or otherwise, as determined in the respective dioceses. Apart from the work it has done, the missionary spirit and interest it has aroused have been of incalculable service to the church.

In regard to sisterhoods, the General Convention has thought best to leave their regulations untrammeled by

l provisions. The first sisterhood arose, as we
n, in the parish of the Holy Communion, New York,
e auspices of Dr. Muhlenberg, in 1843. It was not
constituted until 1852, nor was the first sister form-
itted by special service until 1857. It has proved
of many others more or less like it. The Sister-
the Good Shepherd, in Baltimore, Md., became a
ity in 1863, though it was inaugurated earlier by
in; and in New York the Sisterhood of St. Mary
o being in 1865, and that of the Good Shepherd
The English Sisterhoods of St. Margaret and
the Baptist have branches respectively in Boston
York. Being unreported to any ecclesiastical
e record both of their number and their work is
ly incomplete.
ard to deaconesses, we may trace their origin to
lenberg and Bishop Alonzo Potter, in connection

The New York school has already graduated fourteen pupils, nine of whom are actively engaged in their calling. There is a deaconess house, called St. Faith's, given by Grace Church, which gathered the means for it; and a regular course of instruction, covering two years, is conducted by a faculty consisting of a dean and ten assisting instructors. This is in fulfillment of the canon which requires that every deaconess, before she is set apart for that office, shall have had "an adequate preparation for her work, both technical and religious, which preparation shall have covered the period of two years." The Philadelphia school is also admirably conducted, making, perhaps, practical participation in church work a more prominent feature in its course than the New York school. The demand for deaconesses for parish and mission work is far greater than the supply, and there is every prospect that this channel for the labors of devout women will extend with rapidity, to the great advantage of the church's work and the quickening of its life.

The latest phase of organization for the more efficient conduct of church administration is the archdeaconry system, which has only within the last decade been introduced into some dioceses. It is a modification of the English system, the archdeacon being simply the representative agent of the bishop in the management of the missionary interests of his district. Local missions being an essential part of the work of every diocese in a country which is nowhere, save in cities, densely settled, the chief aid which a bishop requires is in this direction. The importance of planting and cherishing new centers of church life in a growing community is so apparent, and the oversight and regulation of such enterprises require so much attention, that the archdeaconry system has arisen, not to copy a foreign fashion, but to meet a real emergency. The success

s attended its working where it has been intro-
prophetic of its universal adoption.
ontribution toward the more efficient working of
h system, the cathedral holds a tentative position
e forces recently evoked. It was about the begin-
he period of which we are now treating that a ca-
rganization was effected in Chicago by the Bishop
s, the Rt. Rev. H. J. Whitehouse, D.D., and an
moderate size erected. This was the first em-
of the cathedral idea in the country. It was
owed by like attempts in Milwaukee, Faribault,
Topeka, Denver, Davenport, and other places in
, and in Portland, Me., in the East. These cathe-
blishments are rather the germs for a future de-
nt than a full realization of the cathedral system.
n the size and dignity of the churches and their
nts nor in the constitution of their chapters are

of the diocese. In New York City the project of a cathedral was started during the episcopate of Bishop Horatio Potter, and an act of incorporation was secured for it. Nothing was done for its realization until the present bishop, the Rev. Henry C. Potter, D.D., came into office. Under his auspices the work has been vigorously undertaken. Sufficient funds have been gathered by a few munificent donations and legacies to purchase a commanding site, to secure noble architectural plans, and to begin the erection of the choir of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. The corner-stone was laid with impressive ceremonies on St. John's day, 1892. The constitution of the cathedral corporation makes this in reality the bishop's seat and church. In constituting the archdeacons of the diocese, who are the chief supervisors of diocesan missionary work, members of the chapter, and by other features, the cathedral constitution aims at creating, not a medieval anachronism, but an efficient engine and organ for modern diocesan activities.

This new method for effective administration of the dioceses indicates the growth and strength of the church, in that it has become necessary notwithstanding the multiplication of new dioceses by the division of the older ones. This division, or the formation of smaller dioceses within the boundaries of the States, with which the dioceses were originally coterminous, is a marked feature of the church of this period. What had required the most cogent arguments and the most unceasing effort of Bishop Whittingham and others to effect in 1837, in regard to the division of the diocese of New York, has gone on with vigor ever since. In 1868 the diocese of New York was divided into three: New York, Albany, and Long Island. In the same year Western New York was divided by the setting off of Central New York. Maryland in the same year consti-

e Eastern Shore of the State the diocese of Easton.
lier, in 1865, Pennsylvania had set off the diocese
burg, and later, in 1871, the diocese of Central
vania. The movement toward smaller dioceses has
en continuously gone on, until most of the older
outside New England have now been divided. In
nstituted old Virginia there are now the dioceses of
, West Virginia, and Southern Virginia; in Ohio
eses of Ohio and Southern Ohio; in Illinois the
ceses of Chicago, Quincy, and Springfield. Michi-
set off Western Michigan as a diocese, and North-
higan as a missionary jurisdiction. Missouri has
ided into Missouri and West Missouri. Texas has
ne missionary jurisdictions of Northern and West-
as. North Carolina has set off the diocese of East
. California has constituted Northern California
nary jurisdiction, and Colorado, Western Colo-

a Federate Council of the five dioceses within the State. As yet throughout the church there has been no general movement in the matter, and it waits for its development the coming of future necessity.[1]

Some general features of the latest development of church life having now been traced, we turn our attention to some special facts which give character and meaning to this period of the church's history.

One of the inevitable struggles of the church was to adjust itself to the new development of ritualism, which may perhaps be defined as the effort to symbolize in worship, by a return to pre-Reformation usages, the doctrinal system of the extreme Anglo-Catholic school. The whole legislative action in this respect has been derided as an undignified wrangle over church millinery. That is a very inadequate conception of the controversy. Neither side looked upon it from so frivolous a point of view. Those who claimed the right to hold the doctrinal opinions of this school claimed the right to express and teach them by ritual action. They justified their vestments and ceremonies, hitherto unknown in the church in America, either by the usage arising in the English Church from the construction there of the Ornaments Rubric (though its force and obligation were then the subject of controversy and litigation), or by the lack of legislation in the canons and rubrics of the church in the United States, which had never sanctioned the Ornaments Rubric.

On the other hand, those who were opposed to this in-

[1] Perhaps the most prominent and persistent advocate of the division of dioceses and of the provincial system was the Rev. Dr. John Henry Hopkins, Jr., son of Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont. He was the wittiest and most pungent controversial writer the church has produced. His literary talents were more brilliant than his father's. His chief literary work, his father's "Life," would be simply beautiful as an instance of filial devotion if it were not so jubilantly polemic and exultantly partisan as to seriously lessen its value as a contribution to the history of the time.

action of members of a separate school urged that
on permitted to be held *in* the church was not to
ued as the doctrine *of* the church, and that the new
es, meant to teach it, were so indistinguishable
ceremonial which expressed the tenets of the
of Rome (which this church had, in common with
sh mother, rejected as errors), that to permit them
gerous. They urged, moreover, that it was likely
essly destroy both the moderation and the uni-
n worship which had been so characteristic of the
ion.

ritualistic controversy is therefore not to be
l as a childish contention on either hand about
n themselves insignificant; nor is the movement
nfounded with that growth in esthetic culture so
istic of this time in all departments of life, and by

ties of the Oxford Movement, had come to be undisturbed by the ceremonial which expressed them, and even appeared as its advocate and defender. Early in 1867 twenty-four bishops issued a declaration condemnatory of ritualism, in which they declared that "no Prayer-book of the Church of England in the reign of whatever sovereign set forth, and no law of the Church of England, have any force of law in this church such as can be justly cited in defense of any departure from the express law of this church." In fine, this declaration claimed the right of "this national church" to prescribe its own ritual, and condemned such usages as were especially attributed to the ritualistic party. This started the controversy. It is too recent, and the records of it are too accessible, to render a complete account of it advisable. The flood of debate, moreover, renders such an account impossible. In the General Convention of 1868 the subject was earnestly considered, but after many resolutions and counter-resolutions the only result was the consent of the House of Bishops, in response to a request of the House of Deputies, to "appoint a committee to consider whether any additional provision for uniformity, by canon or otherwise, is practicable and expedient, and to report to the next General Convention."

Bishop Hopkins had died in January before this Convention assembled, and Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, was now presiding bishop. He appointed on this committee Bishops Lee of Delaware, Williams of Connecticut, Odenheimer of New Jersey, Clark of Rhode Island, and Kerfoot of Pittsburg. This committee reported to the next General Convention, held in Baltimore, 1871. In this report they declared their conviction that some action of the General Convention on the subject was desirable, if not absolutely demanded. They asked that such action should be in the

a canon, and recommended that it should prohibit
pecified things, among which were the use of in-
d of the crucifix, lights on or about the holy table,
ain actions of the officiating minister, such as the
of the consecrated elements, prostrations, cross-
tary communion of the priest, etc. They recom-
another canon on Vestments, restricting the bishops
iscopal habit heretofore in use, and the clergy to
surplice and black gown, a white or black stole,
nds, and a black cassock. They also reported a
n that," the House of Deputies concurring, a joint
ee be appointed, to consist of three bishops, three
rs, and three laymen, with directions to report such
s might be thought desirable to this Convention
as possible." The joint committee was granted
inted, and reported a canon on Ritual, in which it
ared, first, that "this church recognizes no other

munion, forbidding elevation of the elements and any ceremony not prescribed in the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper in the Book of Common Prayer. The canon was lost by non-concurrence of the house. Two resolutions were, however, passed; the first condemning all ceremonies fitted to express a doctrine foreign to that set forth in the authorized standards of the church, and the second, declaring the counsel of the bishops as sufficient to suppress all irregularities.

It was not until the Convention of 1874 that a canon on Ritual was passed. Then by an overwhelming majority the present Section 11 of Canon 22 of Title 1 was adopted. This canon forbids the elevation of the elements in the celebration of the holy communion; any acts of adoration toward the elements; and all other like acts not authorized by the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer.

The whole action, protracted as it was, was more influential through the expression of opinion elicited than from the legislation enacted. The constitutionality of the canon has been disputed and practically disallowed by those whose practices it forbids, and those who desired legislation at all desired more than they got. By their messages and proposed measures the House of Bishops showed their general disapproval of the movement, and the House of Deputies their disinclination to minute legislation concerning it. Its clerical and lay advocates were backed by many who disapproved it, but who wished to make the church comprehensive of all types of churchmanship. The canon so fully approved has stood chiefly as a formal protest against the central error alleged to be involved in the ritualistic development.

Whether it was owing to the very full opportunity for the church to give its utterance on the subject in these General Conventions, or to other causes, the excitement

g ritualism from this time gradually declined. In
e form it is rare in the church, and its advocates,
are not numerous.

cussion concerning ritualism in 1871 was espe-
nated. It brought into prominence as its most
dvocate Dr. James De Koven, whose speeches
h as anything to defeat more definite legislation.
nan of singular charm and of magnetic influence,
se from a rare combination in him of earnest en-
genuine conviction, and spiritual refinement. His
owers have attributed to him more intellectual
n his short life made apparent, but his gifts and
alike combined to place him in the forefront of
-Catholic party.

nvention of 1871 saw the issue of a declaration
use of Bishops which did more to quiet the ap-
n of the Evangelicals than any legislative en-

Episcopal Church took place. It was precipitated, on the part of Bishop Cummins, the chief mover in it and an indispensable element if it were to be an Episcopal communion, by certain criticisms in the public press. He had participated with Dr. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury, in a celebration of the holy communion in a Presbyterian church, held in connection with a world-gathering of the Evangelical Alliance in New York, October, 1873. Bishop Cummins was assistant Bishop of Kentucky, an eloquent preacher of Evangelical sentiments and strict theological convictions. He had previously been much disturbed by the ritualistic controversy, and seeing that proscriptive legislation was not likely to equal his demands, his conscience was stirred at the thought of continuing to bear rule in a church where what he esteemed vital errors would be permitted, even if discountenanced. The act of joining in the Presbyterian communion service was sharply criticised in the newspapers by Bishop Tozer, an English missionary bishop who was retiring from Zanzibar, and who was in New York at the time. His denunciation, which did not disturb the Anglican dean, proved the finishing-touch to the long-gathering dissatisfaction of the American bishop. A month later, on November 10, 1873, Bishop Cummins addressed a letter to his diocesan, Bishop Benjamin B. Smith, of Kentucky, who was also presiding bishop, announcing his "purpose of transferring his work and office to another sphere." After expostulation he was arraigned for trial, and was finally deposed from his office and ministry by the presiding bishop, June 24, 1874. This sentence was approved and ratified by the House of Bishops at its next session, and announced in a solemn service to the church in General Convention assembled the same year, October, 1874. In the meantime, a month after his letter of renunciation of his ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church,

ber, 1873, Bishop Cummins had met with seven
n and twenty laymen in the city of New York,
gurated a separate ecclesiastical organization.
ummins was chosen presiding officer of the new
l he proceeded to consecrate the deposed pres-
hicago, the Rev. C. E. Cheney, D.D., who was by
ody elected bishop. He was a notable accession
of his gifts and character and the conspicuous
e had obtained. Could the strictness of the letter
n less rigidly enforced against him he might have
ed to the church, and the Reformed Episcopal
o America, for he was the most influential man
d it. A few earnest souls followed him, of the
ch is intense within a limited horizon; whose
n of the church is too circumscribed to admit of
prehensions of doctrine, and who fear if tares and
w together the tares will assuredly root out the

the body was shown, however, in its refusal to confirm the election of Dr. G. F. Seymour to the bishopric of Illinois, on the ground that he was an active member of the advanced ritualistic party. This charge he denied, but the Convention declined to assent to his consecration. In the calmer times which have since ensued he has been made bishop of the diocese of Springfield.

Just before the General Convention met in New York in 1874 the first meeting of the American Church Congress was held in the same city. It had, of course, been suggested by the English Church Congress, and the plan originated among a number of clergymen, usually styled Broad-churchmen, who were advocates of the comprehensiveness of the church and of intellectual freedom within it. They felt that the time had come for a free expression of opinion by all classes of churchmen, clerical and lay, on topics of common Christian and church interest, unhampered by prospective legislation or representative responsibility. They believed that if honest men of differing convictions could thus meet on a common platform, state and advocate their convictions, and learn the *rationale* of their differences, the result would be a decline of party spirit, an increase of ecclesiastical comity, and an awakening of intellectual and spiritual life. At a meeting of a number of clergymen of Boston and New York at New Haven in the spring of 1874, the subject was broached. The Rev. Dr. Edwin Harwood, the scholarly rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, who had recently attended a meeting of the English Church Congress, suggested the introduction of the same thing in America. The subject was duly discussed, and finally formulated by such men as Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, Drs. E. A. Washburn and John Cotton Smith of New York, and Phillips Brooks of Boston. Rev. Dr. George D. Wildes was appointed general secretary. Prepa-

re made to hold the first session of the Congress
rk, just previous to the assembling of the Gen-
ntion, in order to secure a full and represent-
ence for the inauguration of the movement.
ntment of this time caused the project to be
ood by the Bishop of New York, who had been
reside, and he opposed the holding of the Con-
ng it might be meant to influence the legislation
ing General Convention. Nothing was further
urpose of the originators of the Congress, and
ay to answer such suspicions was to hold the
nd let it speak for itself. It was accordingly
great success in Association Hall, and largely
though many bishops and delegates withheld
nce out of deference to the scruples of the bishop
ese. Bishop Whipple made the opening address
ebration of the holy communion at Calvary

selection of its writers and speakers. If some have kept aloof from it, it has not been for lack of invitation to attend. The late Bishop of New York, notwithstanding his first opposition, at a later period welcomed it to his diocese and presided at its meetings. Those only dislike it who distrust the effects of free discussion. They do not constitute a majority of any party in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The class of churchmen among whom the Congress took its rise came into notice gradually and as individuals rather than as a school. Though styled the Broad-church party, from the nature of their position there can be no binding party organization among them, for they emphasize individual freedom of both thought and action, and stand for the constitutional rights of loyal churchmen of every school. Their symbol is rather the leaven which influences and raises the mass wherein it is set, without taking evident form for itself, than the seed which is reproduced and multiplied in definite and enlarged organizations. They are the representatives on this side of the Atlantic of the school in England identified with the names of Arnold of Rugby and Robertson of Brighton, with the brothers Hare, and with Maurice and Stanley and Temple. They vary in churchmanship, in theological opinions, in ritual manners. Their bond of union lies rather in their method of approaching questions than in definite conclusions concerning them. They are the apostles of the Spirit. In answer to charges of vagueness and indifference to positive results which have been brought against them, they claim that their breadth is not that of the aeronaut who, drifting among the clouds, sees everything and distinguishes nothing, but is that of the astronomer who from a firm position broadly scans the heavens, and learns of a greatness which, if it dwarf the planet whereon he stands, yet glorifies it by making it part of a universe. Many of this school are strong churchmen,

the value of the historic order of the church as against the distractions of denominationalism, witness to the continuity of the Christian faith, gitimate outcome is growth. They regard the this century, however, as being as truly under nce and blessed by the presence of the Divine the church at any earlier period of its history. ard it not chiefly as a past tradition, but as a eality set for understanding the mind of the nd applying his gospel to the wants of men to- e school thus believes in progress through its the living presence of God by his Spirit. It s that the same Spirit may be manifest in diverse s, and its idea of unity is not, therefore, uniform- olds that the duty of thinking has not been to any one age, but that the church's past ex-

The authority of the church lies to them chiefly in the reasonableness of its decrees, and the authority of the Bible in its divine and spiritual message to the soul and the conscience, wholly unimpaired by any crudity of style or inexactness of popular scientific illustration it may exhibit. They regard inspiration as of the spirit, not of the letter, and hold that the supernatural is not to be construed as the unnatural.

This school, therefore, concerns itself much with the kingdom of righteousness on earth, and is less dogmatic concerning the features of the spiritual world beyond. It is interested in applying the principles of Christ's teaching, and the truth of God, revealed in his incarnation and passion and resurrection, to the present actual needs of men and society, and is largely humanitarian in its conception of applied Christianity.

This brief sketch of the Broad-church school may serve to show its trend. It is not eminently dogmatic, but tends to discriminate essential Christianity from theological speculation, and to identify its essence with a living relation of the soul and of society to Christ. It has had wide influence over both thinking and practical men. It has drawn into the church many whom ecclesiasticism repels, and whom the subjective individualism of the Evangelical system does not satisfy. It, of course, embraces men very wide asunder in their conclusions, and its coherence lies solely in its spirit. To exist as an influence is its end and aim. That end is to "live in the Spirit"; that aim is to "walk before God in the land of the living." Of the exponents of this school, the most eminent have been Dr. Washburn, of New York, and Phillips Brooks, Bishop of Massachusetts. The lives of both were too influential to be indicated in a brief sketch, yet too significant to be passed without notice.

l Abiel Washburn was drawn out of the Con-
alism in which he was reared into the Episcopal
rough the attraction of its historic and institu-
racter. He used to speak of himself as a philo-
High-churchman, because he held to the value of
ic continuity and organic structure of the church
ophical rather than on dogmatic grounds; for the
eir reasonableness rather than because of conciliar
nal authority. According to his conception the
uld not rightly exist as a congeries of atomic
ions, nor even as a rivalry of mutually exclusive
iving for predominance within the selfsame house-
must stand as an organism coextensive with the
s of the faith, with equal constitutional rights
d to all loyal souls therein. The idea of com-
eness thus detached him from denominationalism

was marked in each. But Dr. Washburn's chief interest lay in departments unfamiliar to his gifted friend: in those deeper problems of philosophical speculation and historical investigation which furnished the roots of his theological method. He was intent on the discovery of the *rationale* of all doctrines and institutions, and his chief mental power lay in the possession of a keen analysis which suffered no subterfuge to escape him, and which brought out the lurking error or the hidden truth so that it was impossible to mistake its identity. Though possessed as a preacher of a rare eloquence of both style and expression, his appeal in the pulpit, as in his writings, was to the thoughtful and studious classes rather than to the mass of men. He approached men through their intellect too predominantly to greatly attract or influence the general crowd, but within the sphere he had deliberately chosen he stood supreme. Upon vague sentiment or misty doubt his clear intelligence shone like the sun, dispersing the vapors and revealing the source of their origin. He recognized and welcomed the new problems in thought and action of his time, and rejoiced to go forth to meet them in the friendly spirit which greeted them as signs of life, better far than any sultry calm. As their solvent he brought forth out of his treasury things new and old, holding, with his friend Stanley, that "the transitory stands still, fades, and falls to pieces; the eternal continues by changing its form in accordance with the movement of advancing ages."

As a philosophical Christian divine and as a liberal churchman, not less but more devoted by reason of his liberality, his influence on his fellow-clergy and the thoughtful minds of the community was marked and deep. And all that influence went for manliness and sincerity, for generous sympathy, for high scholarship, for fearless investigation. His courage was boundless because of his

e that truth, not error, is the strongest thing in
ch as in the world. His salutary influence on
s of the younger clergy can hardly be computed.
turn to speak of Phillips Brooks we meet a nature
cord with Dr. Washburn's aim and tone, but with
istics widely different. He grew up in Boston,
e influence of his rector, Dr. Alexander H. Vin-
ose vigorous mind and great acquirements and
ling character and earnest eloquence," to quote
rooks's own estimate of him, "made him a most
l power, and gave a noble dignity to the life of
ch in Boston." A graduate of Harvard and a
nder Dr. Sparrow at Alexandria, his mind never
or later days turned fondly toward institutions,
red itself on the spiritual and moral and intellect-
s of the truth itself. High as was his intelligence

the majesty of his spirit as he stood before them to plead with them, as the children of God, to rise to the height of the divine possibilities within them, and walk as children of the light and of the day. It is difficult, if not impossible, to analyze his power. He had affluent gifts, but it did not lie in them. He had an exquisite diction which sang its sentiment into the soul, and a wealth of illustration which constituted him a veritable seer to whom nature laid bare the secrets of her spiritual suggestion, together with a beautiful simplicity of style which transforms his writings into literature. Mentally he had a clear perception of the fundamental truths of God and man, a noble philosophy of life, a keen appreciation of the forces moving in society, an intense appreciation of all genuine forms of life. But it was the mystic touch of genius which took all the rich endowments of his nature, and all the acquirements of his scholarship, and all his varied culture and experience of men, and from out them evoked a power of spiritual sympathy which made him supreme as an inspiration and a guide. His theology was Christology, and his religion was a transcript of Dr. Arnold's expressive phrase: "There is one name, and one alone, in heaven and earth to whom we can surrender our whole soul and be satisfied. And that name is not truth, not justice, not benevolence; not Christ's mother, nor his holiest servants, nor his blessed sacraments, nor his very mystical body, the church; but himself only, who died for us and rose again, Jesus Christ, both God and man." The divinity and humanity of Christ were a blended light which enabled him to apprehend the significance of each, and to comprehend their unity in him. The realization of that unity in man was to his thought the end and aim of creation and redemption, and to it he summoned all who heard him by earnestly eloquent appeals to the noblest elements within

e depicted Christian character in the greatness
nliness, and in contrast showed the turpitude of
littleness as well as in its guilt. His teaching
characterized by a lofty belief in man's spiritual
es, and a large hope for man's eternal destinies.
ressive revelation of truth and morality in the
wned by the incarnation, assured him of its
rit and origin, which no criticism of the letter
ct. And the church of Christ was to him the
od of all who were baptized with Christ's spir-
er, and followed him as Master. Neither his
l nor his ecclesiastical views were conventional,
ave rise to misconception and misunderstanding
His method was synthetic, not analytic, and this,
dered the conventional mind, which could not
at the skeleton was sound or entire unless it

John Cotton Smith, rector of Ascension Church, New York, who, beginning as a narrow Evangelical, expanded into a broad Evangelical; always holding to the subjective theology he loved, yet coming to comprehend the equal force and claim of other schools of thought. His strong native powers were enforced by learning, and his philosophic cast of mind lent depth to his conclusions. His pamphlet, "The Church's Mission of Reconciliation," had a very wide effect in calming party passion and making his powers known and his influence felt generally throughout the church. It was a plea for unity amid diversity, justified by an exposition of the peculiar task and value of each school in its testimony to some special element of the faith, and urged in the interests of that "special agency in building up the future church of the nation" which he believed Providence laid upon his own communion.

In fine, the aim of this school has lain in an endeavor to make the church comprehensive, and in claiming free scope for the development of its power.

Another new organization of this period has likewise been influential in the cause of unity within the church on its spiritual side, as the Church Congress has been on its intellectual side. It is the Parochial Mission Society, which by freer methods and a continuous series of services strives to do in a more churchly fashion what the prayer-meeting and religious conference aimed to do of old. It combines in its committees and its workers churchmen of every school or party, who are earnestly set to dissipate the apathy which settles on the routine life of parishes, and to call in from without to the influences of the gospel those who either neglect the church or are utterly indifferent or hostile to it. To gather in the wayfarer and stimulate the sluggish Christian is the work of the Parochial Mission. Its services are differently conducted by different

types of men; but the unity of aim begets unity of spirit, and the outcome has been an enlarged charity and a better mutual appreciation among the varied schools of churchmen.

The St. Andrew's Brotherhood is another such unifying organization, which touches church life on its practical side. This society, which, with simplest rules and methods, exists to enlist the coöperation of young men in church work, such as bringing men to church and welcoming them there, teaching in Sunday-schools and night-schools, and other like avocations, has become widespread and influential throughout the land. The Church Congress and the Parochial Mission Society both had their prototypes in England. The St. Andrew's Brotherhood is purely American. It began as a parochial society in St. James's Church, Chicago, to meet a local need, under the inspiration and suggestion of Mr. James Houghteling, a layman of the parish. Originating in 1886, it has now a thousand chapters and a membership of eleven thousand widely scattered through the dioceses. It holds its conventions, where the members gather in vast numbers, and is a distinct power in consolidating the practical forces of the church, and divesting them of a partisan character. The Daughters of the King is a society for girls, of the same essential aim and spirit, though it is by no means so large an organization. Church clubs, too, have numerously sprung into being, which have the opportunity at least to foster unity on its social side. The laymen in the cities are enlisted in them, and they manifest and deepen a vigorous Christian vitality among churchmen.

Of the various attempts at social reform which have combined churchmen of all schools in equal enthusiasm, one of the chief is the Church Temperance Society, which seeks to diminish and destroy drunkenness by the combined efforts of

all sober people. It admits, therefore, to its fellowship both those who moderately use and those who totally abstain from using spirituous drinks. It was established in 1881, and under its able president, Mr. Robert Graham, has done much to oppose the vice so fatal to domestic peace and personal respectability by affecting legislation and calling attention to the problem of drinking-saloons and their distribution, by the establishment of coffee-houses and lunch-wagons where the temptation to dram-drinking is absent, by lectures and mass-meetings, and especially by the establishment in churches of corps of Knights of Temperance, with drill and uniform, among the young, pledged to sobriety and purity and reverent speech. The reasonableness of its basis, whereon all the friends of sobriety may stand, frees it from the taint of an uncharitable fanaticism, and promises for it a sphere of usefulness akin to that of the English Church Temperance Society, whose success suggested the adoption of its methods in America.

The American Church Building Fund Commission is another practical combination of all sorts of churchmen in needed work. Founded in 1880 by the General Convention, it aims to raise a large fund by annual offerings from congregations and by individual gifts; portions of the principal to be loaned, and of the interest to be given, for church building wherever needed.

Amid all these manifestations of a broader and nobler conception of the church's task, the individual churches themselves, whether the seats are rented and appropriated or whether they are indiscriminately free, have in large measure ceased to be mere places of worship for the little groups who have combined to build them, preserving carefully the chartered privileges of their parishioners, and have aspired to become religious homes for the community and centers of religious work for the help of all kinds of

nd need. In the larger cities the mission chapels houses of the self-supporting churches offer the y for worship and helpful sympathy in the very ne poorer population; and the general City Mis- e city of New York, carries the ministrations pel, through its chaplains, to all the city institu- ery prison and hospital and almshouse supported nicipality.[1]

r conception of church catholicity has at times some to demand a change of name for the ec- organization which has so developed itself. In l Convention of 1877, held in Boston, the sub- roached by the presentation of some resolutions cese of Wisconsin, asking among other things ge in the legal title of the church. The deputy onsin who introduced the resolution, the Rev. oven, was its chief clerical advocate, and the

Such was not its significance. It was proposed, in connection with the enrichment of the Prayer-book then under consideration, that the name of the church should be, not changed, but omitted from the title of the Prayer-book. Many of the strongest opponents of the change of name were in favor of this proposition, believing it would tend to make the Prayer-book more widely acceptable without the church, and insure its use in congregations not Episcopal. There was a clerical majority of nearly two thirds in its favor, and it was defeated by the non-concurrence of the laity, largely on the ground that such omission in the title of the Prayer-book would be construed as a desire to change the church's name. Whenever the subject of the change of name has come distinctly to the front it has been emphatically disallowed.

Before considering the two important actions of the church at home which will conclude this record, it is well to give a brief glance at its relations abroad. These have been chiefly confined to the participation of the American bishops in the three conferences of the whole Anglican episcopate, held by invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace. At the first, held in 1867, the opening sermon was preached by Bishop Whitehouse, of Illinois, in consequence of an arrangement with the Rt. Rev. Dr. Hopkins, to whom, as presiding bishop, the appointment had been referred, in recognition of the church in the United States. Bishop Hopkins was, however, a prominent and conspicuous member of the conference; and Bishop Lee, of Delaware, made a profound impression by his learned and judicious counsel, which caused him to be especially consulted on momentous questions. As the utterances of these conferences are of no binding legal obligation, their effect has been chiefly in deepening a sense of the unity of aim and identity of life between the

ches on either side of the sea, in spite of the
of operations to which their separate circum-
l them. They have resulted in a more frequent
e of pulpits between the two countries, and have
a stronger sense of brotherhood without entailing
evous results of legislative alliance.

o most marked actions of the church of the
riod remain to be noted: the enrichment of the
ok and the Declaration Concerning Unity. They
measure synchronous, the Declaration being
r the Prayer-book revision had been begun and
as ended.

matter of the revision of the Prayer-book, the
calling for the joint committee to consider
on was offered by the Rev. William R. Hunt-
D., of Massachusetts, on the ninth day of the
the General Convention of 1880. It read as

laymen: Huntington, Dalrymple, Goodwin, Dix, Harwood, Garrison, Harison, Fish, Coppée, Sheffey, Wilder, Andrews, Smith, Burgwin.

It was felt at the outset that the efficiency of the committee was somewhat handicapped by the fact that the greater number of those appointed to represent the House of Deputies upon it were men who had not voted for the resolution; but this fact became of itself an argument for revision when, at the Convention held in Philadelphia three years later, the report brought in by the joint committee was found to have been signed by all the members.

The report, when presented, had attached to it a sample Prayer-book showing how the changes recommended, if adopted, would appear. This was known as the Book Annexed, and in connection with the report furnished the subject-matter for an animated debate covering the greater part of the session of 1883. The recommendations of the committee were grouped and classified so as to facilitate the process of selection, and much the greater portion of what had been recommended by the committee secured the Convention's approval. No sooner, however, had this body adjourned than, in accordance with a natural law of reaction, an attack upon the revision movement was begun all along the line; so that it presently looked as if the whole labor of the committee would come to naught. But the violence of this reaction spent itself in the course of two years, and when the time had come for the Convention to meet again, this time at Chicago, it was evident that a counter-reaction in favor of revision had begun. Opposition, however, was still strong enough to enable the opponents of the movement to secure the rejection of a great deal that had been accepted at Philadelphia. A Sifting Committee, so called, was appointed to sit in judgment upon the recommendations agreed to in Philadelphia,

ort back to the Convention such features of re-
ught in its judgment to receive final approval.
t of this procedure certain changes were then
adopted and became part of the liturgical law
rch; while certain others received preliminary
nd were handed on to the next Convention for
n.

General Convention of 1889 the final results
ered up, and a committee of twenty-one was
to prepare and present to the Convention of
ndard book. It should be noted, however, that
the Committee on Revision was reorganized
mber reduced to fifteen. On the reorganized
the original mover of the resolution for revision
serve.

General Convention of 1892, at Baltimore, the
on the Standard Prayer-book presented its re-

large share of its success, but, more than to any other, to the Rev. William R. Huntington, D.D., who was its inspiration and chief guide, without whom it would not have been started, or, if started, would have failed, and whose able and courteous conduct of the long and intricate discussions in the House of Deputies secured to him the recognition by the whole church of a master of debate.

It is interesting to see in the rubrical relaxations and liturgical enrichments of the present book how fully the demands of the Memorial Movement of 1854 have been met.[1] In his letter to Bishop Otey concerning "What the Memorialists Want," in relation to the church services, Dr. Muhlenberg had specified especially these things:

1. The use of other texts of Scripture among the introductory sentences.

2. That the minister may at his discretion omit the exhortation.

3. That the minister may at his discretion omit the General Confession and Absolution on week-days, except Fridays; and on Sundays, when the holy communion is administered, may begin with one or more of the sentences of Scripture, or with the Lord's Prayer.

4. To allow the use of some twenty or thirty psalms or portions of psalms instead of the psalter for the day.

5. To allow the substitution of other lessons than those appointed.

6. To allow the substitution of certain anthems or other portions of Scripture for the present canticles of Morning or Evening Prayer.

7. To allow on certain occasions additional prayers or offices, such as shall be prescribed by the bishop.

All these demands have been more than conceded. The enrichment by additional material, if not large, has been

[1] Muhlenberg, "Evangelical Catholic Papers," first series, p. 230.

The Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, which were
even in the Proposed Book of 1785, and which
ver have been lost, have been restored, and an
feast-day, in the festival of the Transfiguration,
dded to the calendar. As it is now constituted
can Prayer Book is perhaps the noblest manual
levotion in the Christian church.

nvention of 1892, which completed the revision
yer-book, adopted also a Hymnal, compiled by a
of singular culture and ability, under the lead-
Bishop W. C. Doane, of Albany, who both by
eritage and native poetic gifts was fitted to be
hairman.

space for a fuller treatment of the history of
al, there are a few names especially which must
lly associated with it. Apart from Dr. Muhlen-
se service has been before mentioned in this

all previous efforts have found their fitting culmination. As regards both prayer and praise, the church in this last decade has been amply endowed for a reverent and glowing service to Almighty God.

It was during the movement for the enrichment and revision of the Prayer-book that, at the General Convention held in Chicago in 1886, the House of Bishops issued their celebrated Declaration Concerning Unity. A memorial on the subject had been presented to them, signed by more than eleven hundred clergymen and over three thousand laymen. A committee was, in consequence, appointed "to consider the matter of the reunion of Christendom." It consisted of Bishops Littlejohn of Long Island, Bedell of Ohio, Howe of Central Pennsylvania, McCoskry of Michigan, and Galleher of Louisiana. The subject was not in substance a new one, though it was new in form. In 1785, Bishop Seabury, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. William Smith,[1] had indicated as the fixed and settled notes of the church, of universal obligation, these four: government, sacraments, faith, and doctrine. If doctrine be made equivalent to the Holy Scriptures as the source and standard of it, then the report on unity, as finally shaped by the Lambeth Conference, is in exact accord with Bishop Seabury. The attention of the committee was called as well to the much more recent and full expression of the same essential position by the Rev. Dr. William R. Huntington, in his "Essay toward Unity," called "The Church Idea."[2] The four postulates therein laid down were almost literally adopted by the committee in the four propositions which constituted the sum and substance of its report, and which are commonly known as the Quadrilateral.

[1] See Beardsley, "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury, D.D.," p. 234.

[2] "The Church Idea: An Essay toward Unity," p. 157 (E. P. Dutton & Co., 1870).

eport, after referring to the commission in 1853,
nse to the Memorial of Dr. Muhlenberg, and the
ken by the bishops in council in 1880, proceeded
the following Declaration "to all whom it may
and especially to our fellow-Christians of the
communions in our land who, in their several
have contended for the religion of Christ:
ur earnest desire that the Saviour's prayer that
ay be one may, in its deepest and truest sense, be
fulfilled;
hat we believe that all who have been duly baptized
er in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of
Ghost, are members of the Holy Catholic Church;
hat in all things of human ordering or human
lating to modes of worship and discipline, or to
al customs, this church is ready, in the spirit of
humility, to forego all preferences of her own;

"As inherent parts of this sacred deposit, and therefore as essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom, we account the following, to wit:

"I. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the revealed Word of God;

"II. The Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith;

"III. The two sacraments, baptism and the Supper of the Lord, ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him;

"IV. The historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his church.

"Furthermore, deeply grieved by the sad divisions which afflict the Christian church in our own land, we hereby declare our desire and readiness, so soon as there shall be any authorized response to this Declaration, to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass."

This report was adopted and communicated to the House of Deputies, who subsequently asked again for the appointment of a joint commission on the subject. This action was finally concurred in, and it was made the province of the commission to communicate to the organized Christian bodies of the country the Declaration set forth by the House of Bishops, and to hold themselves ready to enter into brotherly conference with all or any such bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the church.

One remarkable effect of this Declaration was its virtual adoption and promulgation by the Lambeth Conference of 1888. By the bishops of the whole Anglican commun-

assembled the articles here promulgated were to read as follows:

he Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testa- ' containing all things necessary to salvation,' ing the rule and ultimate standard of faith;

he Apostles' Creed, as the baptismal symbol; Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the faith;

he two sacraments ordained by Christ himself, nd the Supper of the Lord, ministered with un- e of Christ's words of institution, and of the ele- dained by him;

he historic episcopate, locally adapted in the meth- administration to the varying needs of the nations les called of God into the unity of his church."

s amended the articles were accepted and adopted ouse of Deputies at the General Convention of

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

1497–98. First voyages of the Cabots.
1579. First colonial charter to Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
1587. First service in North Carolina, and first baptism.
1602–03. First church services in New England.
1607. First church built and services held in Virginia.
1619. First legislative meeting in Jamestown.
1663. First church services in New York.
1691. Charter obtained for William and Mary College.
1719. First church Convention at Williamsburg, Va.
1722. Conversion of Cutler and Johnson, of Yale.
1735–36. Visit to America of the Wesleys and of Whitefield.
1783. Church Convention at Annapolis, Md.
1784. Preliminary meeting of clergy at New Brunswick, N. J.
1784. Consecration of Bishop Seabury.
1784. Six fundamental constitutional principles set forth.
1785. First ordination in America (Rev. Philo Shelton).
1785. First General Convention, in Philadelphia.
1785. The Proposed Book set forth.
1786. General ecclesiastical constitution approved.
1787. Consecration of Bishops White and Provoost.
1789. Constitution, canons, and Prayer-book adopted.
1790. Consecration of Bishop Madison.
1792. First consecration of a bishop in America (Dr. Claggett).
1801. The Articles of Religion established.
1821. The General Theological Seminary founded.
1829. Mission to Greece established.
1835. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society founded.
1835. First missionaries go to China.
1835. First domestic missionary bishops elected.
1835–36. Missionaries go to Africa.
1845. Sisterhoods first started.
1853. The Memorial Movement.
1859. First missionaries go to Japan.
1859–92. Revision of the Hymnal.
1861–65. Civil War and reunion.
1873. First bishop for the Indians consecrated.

rst Church Congress held.
rst bishop for Haiti consecrated.
anon concerning ritual adopted.
shop for Mexico consecrated.
Revision of the Prayer-book.
eclaration of House of Bishops on Christian Unity.
rder of deaconesses recognized by canon.
ommittee on Revision of Constitution appointed.

APPENDIX A.

AT OF BISHOP SEABURY AND THE NONJURING SCOTCH PRELATES, HIS CONSECRATORS, NOVEMBER 15, 1784.

ne of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy one God, Blessed for ever. Amen.

and gracious providence of this merciful God having put it into of the Christians of the Episcopal persuasion in Connecticut, in erica, to desire that the blessings of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiscopacy might be communicated to them, and a Church regularly hat part of the western world upon the most ancient and primitive application having been made for this purpose, by the Reverend Seabury, Presbyter in Connecticut, to the Right Reverend the the Church in Scotland; the said Bishops, having taken this proheir serious consideration, most heartily concurred to promote and

ARTICLE III. They agree in declaring that the Episcopal Church in Connecticut is to be in full communion with the Episcopal Church in Scotland; it being their sincere resolution to put matters on such a footing as that the members of both Churches may with safety and freedom communicate with either, when their occasions call them from the one country to the other; only taking care when in Scotland not to hold communion in sacred offices with those persons who, under pretence of Ordination by an English or Irish bishop, do, or shall take upon them to officiate as clergymen in any part of the National Church of Scotland, and whom the Scottish Bishops cannot help looking upon as schismatical intruders, designed only to answer worldly purposes, and uncommissioned disturbers of the poor remains of that once flourishing Church, which both their predecessors and they have, under many difficulties, laboured to preserve pure and uncorrupted to future ages.

ARTICLE IV. With a view to the salutary purpose mentioned in the preceding Articles, they agree in desiring that there may be as near a conformity in worship and discipline established between the two Churches as is consistent with the different circumstances and customs of nations; and in order to avoid any bad effects that might otherwise arise from political differences, they hereby express their earnest wish and firm intention to observe such prudent generality in their public prayers, with respect to these points, as shall appear most agreeable to apostolic rules and the practice of the primitive Church.

ARTICLE V. As the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or the administration of the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal bond of union among Christians, as well as the most solemn act of worship in the Christian Church, the Bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little variance here as possible. And though the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can, consistently with peace and prudence, to make the celebration of this venerable mystery conformable to the most primitive doctrine and practice in that respect, which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion Office, and which it has been the wish of some of the most eminent divines of the Church of England that she also had more closely followed than she seems to have done since she gave up her first reformed liturgy used in the reign of King Edward VI., between which and the form used in the Church of Scotland there is no difference in any point which the primitive Church reckoned essential to the right ministration of the Holy Eucharist. In this capital article therefore of the Eucharistic service, in which the Scottish Bishops so earnestly wish for as much unity as possible, Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious view of the Communion Office recommended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine standards of antiquity, to give his sanction to it, and by gentle methods of argument and persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice, without the compulsion of authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former custom on the other.

ARTICLE VI. It is also hereby agreed and resolved upon, for the better answering the purposes of this Concordate, that a brotherly fellowship be henceforth maintained between the Episcopal Churches in Scotland and Connecticut, and such a mutual intercourse of ecclesiastical correspondence carried on, when opportunity offers or necessity requires, as may tend to the support and edification of both Churches.

VII. The Bishops aforesaid do hereby jointly declare, in the manner, that in the whole of this transaction they have nothing but the glory of God and the good of His Church; and being l upright in their intentions, they cannot but hope that all whom rn will put the most fair and candid construction on their con- e no offence at their feeble but sincere endeavours to promote lieve to be the cause of truth and of the common salvation.

ny of their love, to which, and in mutual good faith and confi- ave for themselves and their successors in office cheerfully put nd seals to these presents at Aberdeen, this fifteenth day of the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-

ROBERT KILGOUR, *Bishop and Primus.* [L. S.]
ARTHUR PETRIE, *Bishop.* [L. S.]
JOHN SKINNER, JUNR., *Bishop.* [L. S.]
SAMUEL SEABURY, *Bishop.* [L. S.]

APPENDIX AA.

ENCE WITH THE ENGLISH ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS CONRNING CONFERRING THE EPISCOPATE ON AMERICA.

of the Convention in this matter is summed up in the address which we append. With a few verbal alterations, they are the

reside, to certify that the said application is not contrary to the Constitutions and laws of the same.

"VI. And whereas the Bishops of this Church will not be entitled to any of such temporal honours as are due to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Parent Church, in quality of Lords of Parliament; and whereas the reputation and usefulness of our Bishops will considerably depend on their taking no higher titles or stile than will be due to their spiritual employments; that it be recommended to this Church, in the States here represented, to provide that their respective Bishops may be called 'The Rt. Rev. A. B., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in C. D.,' and, as a Bishop, may have no other title, and may not use any such stile as is usually descriptive of temporal power and precedency."

First Letter.

"*To the Most Reverend and Right Reverend the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of the Church of England.*

"We the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the United States of America, think it our duty to address your Lordships on a subject deeply interesting, not only to ourselves and those whom we represent, but, as we conceive, to the common cause of Christianity.

"Our forefathers, when they left the land of their nativity, did not leave the bosom of that Church over which your Lordships now preside; but, as well from a veneration for Episcopal government, as from an attachment to the admirable services of our Liturgy, continued in willing connection with their ecclesiastical superiors in England, and were subjected to many local inconveniences, rather than break the unity of the Church to which they belonged.

"When it pleased the Supreme Ruler of the universe, that this part of the British empire should be free, sovereign, and independent, it became the most important concern of the members of our Communion to provide for its continuance. And while, in accomplishing of this, they kept in view that wise and liberal part of the system of the Church of England which excludes as well the claiming as the acknowledging of such spiritual subjection as may be inconsistent with the civil duties of her children; it was nevertheless their earnest desire and resolution to retain the venerable form of Episcopal government handed down to them, as they conceive, from the time of the Apostles, and endeared to them by the remembrance of the holy Bishops of the primitive Church, of the blessed Martyrs who reformed the doctrine and worship of the Church of England, and of the many great and pious Prelates who have adorned that Church in every succeeding age. But however general the desire of compleating the Orders of our Ministry, so diffused and unconnected were the members of our Communion over this extensive country, that much time and negociation were necessary for the forming a representative body of the greater number of Episcopalians in these States; and owing to the same causes, it was not until this Convention that sufficient powers could be procured for the addressing your Lordships on this subject.

"The petition which we offer to your Venerable Body is,—that from a tender regard to the religious interests of thousands in this rising empire, professing the same religious principles with the Church of England, you will be pleased to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be recom-

is Church in the several States here represented—full satisfaction
of the sufficiency of the persons recommended, and of its being
of the general body of the Episcopalians in the said States re-
receive them in the quality of Bishops.

this our request will meet with insurmountable impediments,
ical regulations of the kingdom in which your Lordships fill such
stations, it is not for us to foresee. We have not been ascer-
ny such will exist; and are humbly of opinion, that as citizens
s, interested in their prosperity, and religiously regarding the
ich we owe them, it is to an ecclesiastical source only we can
present exigency.

e of consequence to observe, that in these States there is a sep-
en the concerns of policy and those of religion; that, accordingly,
s cannot officially join in the present application; that, however,
om apprehending the opposition or even displeasure of any of
able personages; and finally, that in this business we are justified
tutions of the States, which are the foundations and controul of

On this point we beg leave to refer to the enclosed extracts
stitutions of the respective States of which we are citizens, and
selves that they must be satisfactory.

e have stated to your Lordships the nature and the grounds of
n; which we have thought it most respectful and most suitable
tude of the object, to address to your Lordships for your delib-
e any person is sent over to carry them into effect. Whatever
vent, no time will efface the remembrance of the past services

"We are, with all the respect which is due to your exalted and venerable characters and stations,

"Your Lordships
"Most obedient and
"Most humble Servants.
"(Signed by the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Convention.)

"IN CONVENTION:
"Christ Church, Philadelphia,
"October 5th, 1785."

Second Letter.

"*To the Most Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers in God, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England.*

"MOST WORTHY AND VENERABLE PRELATES: We the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, have received the friendly and affectionate letter which your Lordships did us the honour to write on the 24th day of February, and for which we request you to accept our sincere and grateful acknowledgments.

"It gives us pleasure to be assured, that the success of our application will probably meet with no greater obstacles than what have arisen from doubts respecting the extent of the alterations we have made and proposed; and we are happy to learn, that as no political impediments oppose us here, those which at present exist in England may be removed.

"While doubts remain of our continuing to hold the same essential articles of faith and discipline with the Church of England, we acknowledge the propriety of suspending a compliance with our request.

"We are unanimous and explicit in assuring your Lordships, that we neither have departed, nor propose to depart from the doctrines of your Church. We have retained the same discipline and forms of worship as far as was consistent with our civil Constitutions; and we have made no alterations or omissions in the Book of Common Prayer but such as that consideration prescribed, and such as were calculated to remove objections which it appeared to us more conducive to union and general content to obviate than to dispute. It is well known, that many great and pious men of the Church of England have long wished for a revision of the Liturgy, which it was deemed imprudent to hazard, lest it might become a precedent for repeated and improper alterations. This is with us the proper season for such a revision. We are now settling and ordering the affairs of our Church, and if wisely done, we shall have reason to promise ourselves all the advantages that can result from stability and union.

"We are anxious to complete our Episcopal system by means of the Church of England. We esteem and prefer it, and with gratitude acknowledge the patronage and favours for which, while connected, we have constantly been indebted to that Church. These considerations, added to that of agreement in faith and worship, press us to repeat our former request, and to endeavour to remove your present hesitation, by sending you our proposed Ecclesiastical Constitution and Book of Common Prayer.

"These documents, we trust, will afford a full answer to every question that can arise on the subject. We consider your Lordships' letter as very

nd. We repose full confidence in the assurance it gives; and
, together with the liberality and catholicism of your venerable
to flatter ourselves, that you will not disclaim a branch of your
for having been, in your Lordships' opinion, if that should
runed rather more closely than its separation made absolutely

nly to add, that as our Church in sundry of these States have
ded to the election of persons to be sent for consecration, and
n proceed to the same, we pray to be favoured with as speedy
this our second address, as in your great goodness you were
to our former one.

"We are,
"With great and sincere respect,
"Most worthy and venerable Prelates,
"Your obedient and
"Very humble servants.

(Signed by the President and Members of the Convention.)

NVENTION:
ch, Philadelphia,
6, 1786."

APPENDIX B.

Philadelphia on the third Tuesday in June, in the year of our Lord 1786, and for ever after once in three years, on the third Tuesday of June, in such place as shall be determined by the Convention; and special meetings may be held at such other times and in such place as shall be hereafter provided for; and this Church, in a majority of the States aforesaid, shall be represented before they proceed to business; except that the representation of this Church from two States shall be sufficient to adjourn; and in all business of the Convention freedom of debate shall be allowed.

II. There shall be a representation of both Clergy and Laity of the Church in each State, which shall consist of one or more Deputies, not exceeding four of each Order; and in all questions, the said Church in each State shall have one vote; and a majority of suffrages shall be conclusive.

III. In the said Church in every State represented in this Convention, there shall be a Convention consisting of the Clergy and Lay Deputies of the congregation.

IV. "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England," shall be continued to be used by this Church, as the same is altered by this Convention, in a certain instrument of writing passed by their authority, intituled, "Alterations of the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in order to render the same conformable to the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States."

V. In every State where there shall be a Bishop duly consecrated and settled, and who shall have acceded to the articles of this General Ecclesiastical Constitution, he shall be considered as a member of the Convention *ex officio.*

VI. The Bishop or Bishops in every State shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the respective Conventions; and every Bishop of this Church shall confine the exercise of his Episcopal office to his proper jurisdiction, unless requested to ordain or confirm by any church destitute of a Bishop.

VII. A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States not now represented, may at any time hereafter be admitted, on acceding to the articles of this union.

VIII. Every clergyman, whether bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, shall be amenable to the authority of the Convention in the State to which he belongs, so far as relates to suspension or removal from office; and the Convention in each State shall institute rules for their conduct, and an equitable mode of trial.

IX. And whereas it is represented to this Convention to be the desire of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States, that there may be further alterations of the Liturgy than such as are made necessary by the American Revolution; therefore the "Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England," as altered by an instrument of writing passed under the authority of this Convention, intituled "Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, proposed and recommended to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," shall be used in this Church when the same shall have been ratified by the Conventions which have respectively sent Deputies to this General Convention.

XI. This General Ecclesiastical Constitution, when in the different States, shall be considered as fundame alterable by the Convention of the Church in any State

APPENDIX C.

CANONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROTESTAN' IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AGREED (THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF SAID CHURCH, H PHILADELPHIA, FROM THE TWENTY-EIGHTH D/ EIGHTH DAY OF AUGUST, 1789, INCLUSIVE.

CANON 1.

IN this Church there shall always be three Orders Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

CANON 2.

Every Bishop elect, before his consecration, shall pr to whom he is presented for that holy office, from the he is elected a Bishop, and from the General Conventi that body appointed to act in their recess, certificates, lowing words, viz.:

Testimony from the Members of the Convention in the Person is recommended for Consecrat

We, whose names are underwritten, fully sensible hc the sacred office of a Bishop should not be unworthily persuaded that it is our duty to bear testimony on this out partiality or affection, do, in the presence of Almi

Testimony from the General Convention.

We whose names are underwritten, fully sensible how important it is that the sacred office of a Bishop should not be unworthily conferred, and firmly persuaded that it is our duty to bear our testimony on this solemn occasion without partiality or affection, do, in the presence of Almighty God, testify that A B is not, so far as we are informed, justly liable to evil report either for error in religion or for viciousness of life; and that we do not know or believe there is any impediment or notable crime, on account of which he ought not to be consecrated to that holy office, but that he hath, as we believe, led his life, for the three years last past, piously, soberly, and honestly.

CANON 3.

Every Bishop in this Church shall, as often as may be convenient, visit the churches within his Diocese or district, for the purposes of examining the state of his Church, inspecting the behaviour of the clergy, and administering the apostolic rite of Confirmation.

CANON 4.

Deacon's Orders shall not be conferred on any person until he shall be twenty-one years old, nor Priest's Orders on any one until he shall be twenty-four years old; and, except on urgent occasion, unless he hath been a Deacon one year. No man shall be consecrated a Bishop of this Church until he shall be thirty years old.

CANON 5.

No person shall be ordained either Deacon or Priest, unless he shall produce a satisfactory certificate from some Church, parish, or congregation, that he is engaged with them, and that they will receive him as their minister and allow him a reasonable support; or unless he be engaged as a professor, tutor or instructor of youth, in some college, academy, or general seminary of learning, duly incorporated; or unless the Standing Committee of the Church in the State for which he is to be ordained, shall certify to the Bishop their full belief and expectation, that he will be received and settled as a pastor by some one of the vacant churches in that State.

CANON 6.

Every candidate for Holy Orders shall be recommended to the Bishop by a Standing Committee of the Convention of the State wherein he resides, which recommendation shall be signed by the names of a majority of the Committee, and shall be in the following words:

We, whose names are hereunder written, testify that A B, for the space of three years last past, hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly: Nor hath he at any time, as far as we know or believe, written, taught, or held, anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church. And, moreover, we think him a person worthy to be admitted to the sacred order of priest. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands. Dated the —— day of ——, in the year of our Lord ——.

In every State in which there is no Standing
shall be appointed at its next ensuing Conventio
can ledate for Holy Orders shall be recommend
or usage of the Church in each State, and the
whom he applies.

CANON 8.

No person shall be ordained in this Churc
the Bishop and the two Presbyters, by whom
is sufficiently acquainted with the New Testam
can give an account of his faith in the Latin
otherwise, as may be required.

CANON 9.

Agreeably to the practice of the primitive
Ordination shall be on the Sundays followin
Second Sunday in Lent, the Feast of Trinit
Wednesdays following the fourteenth day of S
December.

CANON 10.

No person, not a member of this Church, v
pally ordained, shall be permitted to officiat
exhibited to the Vestry of the Church in whic
certificate signed by the Bishop of the Diocese
no Bishop, by three Clergymen of the Standing
of that State, that his Letters of Orders are
Bishop whose authority is acknowledged by thi
evidence of his moral character.

Signed, by order of t

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopa
of Pennsylvania, and Pres
FRAN

with an expression of sentiment, which their estimate of your office in relation to the times does not permit them to withhold. In so doing, they have confidence in your readiness to appreciate their motives and their aims. The actual posture of our Church with reference to the great moral and social necessities of the day, presents to the minds of the undersigned a subject of grave and anxious thought. Did they suppose that this was confined to themselves, they would not feel warranted in submitting it to your attention; but they believe it to be participated in by many of their brethren, who may not have seen the expediency of declaring their views, or at least a mature season for such a course.

The divided and distracted state of our American Protestant Christianity, the new and subtle forms of unbelief adapting themselves with fatal success to the spirit of the age, the consolidated forces of Romanism bearing with renewed skill and activity against the Protestant faith, and as more or less the consequence of these, the utter ignorance of the Gospel among so large a portion of the lower classes of our population, making a heathen world in our midst, are among the considerations which induce your memorialists to present the inquiry whether the period has not arrived for the adoption of measures, to meet these exigencies of the times, more comprehensive than any yet provided for by our present ecclesiastical system: in other words, whether the Protestant Episcopal Church, with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of public worship, and her traditional customs and usages, is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, and so adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and in this age? This question, your petitioners, for their own part, and in consonance with many thoughtful minds among us, believe must be answered in the negative. Their memorial proceeds on the assumption that our Church, confined to the exercise of her present system, is not sufficient to the great purposes above mentioned—that a wider door must be opened for admission to the Gospel ministry than that through which her candidates for holy orders are now obliged to enter. Besides such candidates among her own members, it is believed that men can be found among the other bodies of Christians around us, who would gladly receive ordination at your hands, could they obtain it, without that entire surrender which would now be required of them, of *all* the liberty in public worship to which they have been accustomed—men who could not bring themselves to conform in all particulars to our prescriptions and customs, but yet sound in the faith, and who, having the gifts of preachers and pastors, would be able ministers of the New Testament. With deference it is asked, ought such an accession to your means in executing your high commission, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," be refused, for the sake of conformity in matters recognized in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer as unessentials? Dare we pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into the harvest, while we reject all laborers but those of one peculiar type? The extension of orders to the class of men contemplated (with whatever safeguards, not infringing on evangelical freedom, which your wisdom might deem expedient), appears to your petitioners to be a subject supremely worthy of your deliberations.

In addition to the prospect of the immediate good which would thus be opened, an important step would be taken towards the effecting of a Church unity in the Protestant Christendom of our land. To become a central bond of union among Christians, who, though differing in name, yet hold to the

[illegible] great principles, yet providing for as much freedom worship as is compatible with the essential Faith To define and act upon such a system, it is believe the work of an American Catholic Episcopate.

In justice to themselves on this occasion, your remark that, although aware that the foregoing their own small number, they have no reason t parties contemplate a public expression of them, l therefore undertaken it, they trust that they have n the charge of unwarranted intrusion. They find t now offered up by all our congregations, " that t Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and t to the breaking down of the kingdom of Sin, Satan that, for the attainment of these blessed ends, th concert of action among Protestant Christians, than believing that with you, Rt. Rev'd Fathers, it rests tending thereto, your petitioners could not do less memorial to such consideration as in your wisdom —Praying that it may not be dismissed without r and assuring you, Right Reverend Fathers, of o esteem,

We are, most respectfully, your Brethren and Christ,

W. A. MUHLENBERG,	ALEX.
C. F. CRUSE,	M. A.
PHILIP BERRY,	S. H.
EDWIN HARWOOD,	S. R.
G. T. BEDELL,	C. W.
HENRY GREGORY,	and

New York, October 14th, 1853.

Concurring in the main purport of the above me the necessities of the times call for some special among Christians, and to enlarge for that and othe

APPENDIX E.

THE AMERICAN EPISCOPATE.[1]

NO.	NAME.	ORDER.	DIOCESE.	CONSECRATED.
1	Samuel Seabury	1st	Connecticut ... 1st, Rhode Island, 1790	Nov. 14, 1784
2	William White	1st	Pennsylvania	Feb. 4, 1787
3	Samuel Provoost	1st	New York	Feb. 4, 1787
4	James Madison	1st	Virginia	Sept. 19, 1790
5	Thomas John Claggett	1st	Maryland	Sept. 17, 1792
6	Robert Smith	1st	South Carolina	Sept. 13, 1795
7	Edward Bass	1st	Massachusetts ... 2d, Rhode Island	May 7, 1797
8	Abraham Jarvis	2d	Connecticut	Sept. 18, 1797
9	Benjamin Moore	2d	New York (Coad.) ... Bp. 1815	Sept. 11, 1801
10	Samuel Parker	2d	Massachusetts	Sept. 14, 1804
11	John Henry Hobart	3d	New York (Coad.) ... Bp. 1816	May 29, 1811
12	Alexander Viets Griswold	1st	Eastern Diocese	May 29, 1811
13	Theodore Dehon	2d	South Carolina	Oct. 15, 1812
14	Richard Channing Moore	2d	Virginia	May 18, 1813
15	James Kemp	2d	Maryland (Suff.) ... Bp. 1816	Sept. 1, 1814
16	John Croes	1st	New Jersey	Nov. 19, 1815
17	Nathaniel Bowen	3d	South Carolina	Oct. 8, 1818
18	Philander Chase	1st	Ohio ... 1st, Illinois, 1835	Feb. 11, 1819
19	Thomas Church Brownell	3d	Connecticut	Oct. 27, 1819
20	John Stark Ravenscroft	1st	North Carolina	May 22, 1823
21	Henry Ustick Onderdonk	2d	Pennsylvania (Asst.) ... Bp. 1836	Oct. 25, 1827
22	William Meade	3d	Virginia (Asst.) ... Bp. 1841	Aug. 19, 1829
23	William Murray Stone	3d	Maryland	Oct. 21, 1830
24	Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk	4th	New York	Nov. 26, 1830
25	Levi Silliman Ives	2d	North Carolina	Sept. 22, 1831

[1] Names of living bishops printed in small capitals.

APPENDIX E.—*Continued.*

NAME.	ORDER.	DIOCESE.
›kins	1st	Vermont (3d Acting)
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:Ilvaine	2d	Ohio
ton Doane	2d	New Jersey
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:Coskry	1st	Michigan (2d Acting)
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)te De Lancey	1st	Western New York
vards Gadsden	4th	South Carolina
on Whittingham	4th	Maryland
	1st	Georgia
	1st	Delaware
	4th	Virginia (Asst.) Bp. 186
rn	3d	Massachusetts (Asst., 4th Acting)
Kewly Henshaw	1st	Rhode Island (4th Acting)
	1st	New Hampshire (2d Acting)
er Cobbs	1st	Alabama (3d Acting)
Hawks	1st	Missouri
Boone	1st	Amoy, China (Miss.)

56	Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright	5th	New York (Provisional)	Nov. 10,	1852
57	Thomas Frederick Davis	5th	South Carolina	Oct. 17,	1853
58	Thomas Atkinson	3d	North Carolina (4th Acting)	Oct. 17,	1853
59	William Ingraham Kip	1st	California (Miss.) Bp. of Diocese, 1857	Oct. 28,	1853
60	Thomas Fielding Scott	1st	Oregon and Washington Territory (Miss.)	Jan. 8,	1854
61	Henry Washington Lee	1st	Iowa (2d Acting)	Oct. 18,	1854
62	Horatio Potter	6th	New York (Provisional) Bp. 1861	Nov. 22,	1854
63	THOMAS MARCH CLARK	2d	Rhode Island	Dec. 6,	1854
64	Samuel Bowman	..	Pennsylvania (Asst.)	Aug. 25,	1858
65	Alexander Gregg	1st	Texas	Oct. 13,	1859
66	William Henry Odenheimer	3d	New Jersey 1st, Northern New Jersey, 1874	Oct. 13,	1859
67	Gregory Thurston Bedell	3d	Ohio (Asst.) Bp. 1873; resigned 1889	Oct. 13,	1859
68	HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE	1st	Minnesota	Oct. 23,	1859
69	Henry Champlin Lay	3d	Arkansas (Miss.) (1st, Easton, tr. April 1, 1869	Oct. 23,	1859
70	Joseph Cruikshank Talbot	1st	Northwest (Miss.) 2d, Indiana, 1865 (Asst.); Bp. 1872	Feb. 15,	1860
71	William Bacon Stevens	4th	Pennsylvania (Asst.) Bp. 1865	Jan. 2,	1862
72	RICHARD HOOKER WILMER	2d	Alabama (4th Acting)	Mar. 6,	1862
73	Thomas Hubbard Vail	1st	Kansas	Dec. 15,	1864
74	ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE	2d	Western New York (Asst.) Bp. 1865	Jan. 4,	1865
75	CHARLES TODD QUINTARD	2d	Tennessee	Oct. 11,	1865
76	Robert Harper Clarkson	1st	Nebraska (Miss.)	Nov. 15,	1865
77	George Maxwell Randall	1st	Colorado (Miss.)	Dec. 28,	1865
78	John Barrett Kerfoot	1st	Pittsburg	Jan. 25,	1866
79	CHANNING MOORE WILLIAMS	2d	China and Japan (Miss.) 1st, Yedo, 1874; R. 1889	Oct. 3,	1866
80	Joseph Pére Bell Wilmer	2d	Louisiana	Nov. 7,	1866
81	George David Cummins	..	Kentucky (Asst.)	Nov. 15,	1866
82	William Edmond Armitage	2d	Wisconsin (Asst.) Bp. 1870	Dec. 6,	1866
83	HENRY ADAMS NEELY	2d	Maine (4th Acting)	Jan. 25,	1867
84	DANIEL SYLVESTER TUTTLE	1st	Utah (Miss.) 3d, Missouri, 1886	May 1,	1867
85	John Freeman Young	2d	Florida	July 25,	1867
86	John Watous Beckwith	2d	Georgia	April 2,	1868
87	FRANCIS MCNEECE WHITTLE	5th	Virginia (Asst.) Bp. 1876	April 30,	1868

.....		Jan. 27, 1869
.....		Feb. 2, 1869
w York		April 8, 1869
iss.)	Asst. Bp. Pa., 1886; Bp. 1887	Oct. 13, 1869
Miss.)		Jan. 25, 1870
shire		Sept. 21, 1870
(Asst.)	Bp. 1879	Oct. 6, 1870
lina		Oct. 8, 1871
nsylvania		Dec. 28, 1871
Miss.), South Dakota, 1883		Jan. 9, 1873
as, Africa (Miss.)		April 17, 1873
etts		Sept. 17, 1873
olina (Asst.)	Bp. 1881	Dec. 11, 1873
Miss.)	Diocese, 1887	Dec. 31, 1873
.....	Milwaukee, 1886	Oct. 24, 1874
exas (Miss.)		Feb. 15, 1874
California (Miss.)		Nov. 2, 1874
Texas (Miss.)		Dec. 20, 1874
o (Miss.) ...	R. 1876; Bp. Easton, 1887	Dec. 17, 1874
(Asst.)	Bp. 1884	Jan. 27, 1875
.....		Jan. 2, 1875
Michigan		Feb. 24, 1875
Ohio	Resigned 1889	April 28, 1875
.....	Chicago, 1883	Dec. 6, 1875
ac		Dec. 15, 1875
.....		Sept. 10, 1876
as (Miss.)	Resigned 1883	Feb. 13, 1877

118	SAML. ISAAC JOS. SCHERESCHEWSKY..	2d	Shanghai, China (Miss.).....	Resigned 1883	Oct. 31, 1877
119	ALEXANDER BURGESS.....	1st	Quincy.....		May 15, 1878
120	GEORGE WILLIAM PETERKIN.....	1st	West Virginia.....		May 30, 1878
121	GEORGE FRANKLIN SEYMOUR.....	1st	Springfield		June 11, 1878
122	Samuel Smith Harris.....	2d	Michigan		Sept. 17, 1879
123	THOMAS ALFRED STARKEY.....	2d	Northern New Jersey.....	Newark, 1886	Jan. 8, 1880
124	John Nicholas Galleher.....	3d	Louisiana		Feb. 5, 1880
125	George Kelly Dunlop.....	2d	New Mexico and Arizona (Miss.).....		Nov. 21, 1880
126	LEIGH RICHMOND BREWER.....	1st	Montana (Miss.).....		Dec. 8, 1880
127	John Adams Paddock.....	1st	Washington (Miss.).....		Dec. 15, 1880
128	CORTLANDT WHITEHEAD.....	2d	Pittsburg		Jan. 25, 1882
129	HUGH MILLER THOMPSON.....	2d	Mississippi (Asst.).....	Bp. 1887	Feb. 24, 1883
130	David Buel Knickerbacker.....	3d	Indiana		Oct. 14, 1883
131	HENRY CODMAN POTTER.....	7th	New York (Asst.).....	Bp. 1887	Oct. 20, 1883
132	ALFRED MAGILL RANDOLPH	1st	Virginia (Asst.).....	Bp. Southern Virginia, 1892	Oct. 21, 1883
133	WILLIAM DAVID WALKER	1st	North Dakota (Miss.)		Dec. 20, 1883
134	ALFRED AUGUSTIN WATSON	1st	East Carolina.....		April 17, 1884
135	William Jones Boone.....	4th	Shanghai (Miss.).....		Oct. 28, 1884
136	NELSON SOMERVILLE RULISON.....	2d	Central Pennsylvania (Asst.).....		Oct. 28, 1884
137	WILLIAM PARET.....	6th	Maryland.....		Jan. 8, 1885
138	GEORGE WORTHINGTON.....	2d	Nebraska.....		Feb. 24, 1885
139	SAMUEL DAVID FERGUSON.....	4th	Cape Palmas (Miss.).....		June 24, 1885
140	EDWIN GARDNER WEED.....	3d	Florida		Aug. 11, 1886
141	MAHLON NORRIS GILBERT.....	2d	Minnesota (Asst.).....		Oct. 18, 1886
142	ELISHA SMITH THOMAS	2d	Kansas (Asst.).....	Bp. 1889	May 4, 1887
143	ETHELBERT TALBOT	1st	Wyoming and Idaho (Miss.).....		May 27, 1887
144	JAMES STEPTOE JOHNSON.....	2d	Western Texas (Miss.).....		Jan. 6, 1888
145	ABIEL LEONARD.....	2d	Nevada and Utah (Miss.).....		Jan. 25, 1888
146	LEIGHTON COLEMAN	2d	Delaware.....		Oct. 18, 1888
147	JOHN MILLS KENDRICK	3d	Arizona and New Mexico.....		Jan. 18, 1889
148	BOYD VINCENT	2d	Southern Ohio.....		Jan. 25, 1889
149	Cyrus Frederic Knight.....	4th	Milwaukee		Mar. 26, 1889
150	CHARLES CHAPMAN GRAFTON.....	2d	Fond du Lac.....		April 25, 1889

APPENDIX E.—*Continued.*

NAME.	ORDER.	DIOCESE.
W LEONARD.....	4th	Ohio. .....
ICK DAVIES.....	3d	Michigan .....
GRAVES.....	1st	The Platte.....
NICHOLS.....	2d	California (Asst.).....
ATWILL.....	1st	West Missouri.....
E JACKSON.....	..	Alabama (Asst.).....
.....	4th	Louisiana (Asst.).....Bp. 1891
.....	5th	Massachusetts .....
IOLSON.....	5th	Milwaukee .....
OCH NELSON.....	3d	Georgia .....
EN HALE.....	..	Springfield (Asst.).....
RT KINGSOLVING.....	2d	Texas (Asst.).....Bp. 189
WELLS.....	1st	Spokane (Miss.).....
E GRAY.....	1st	Southern Florida (Miss.).....
BROOKE.....	1st	Oklahoma (Miss.).....
IS BARKER.....	1st	Western Colorado (Miss.).....
.....	3d	Japan (Miss.).....
GERS GRAVES.....	3d	China (Miss.).....
S.....	..	South Carolina (Asst.).....
K GAILOR.....	..	Tennessee (Asst.).....
ENCE.....	6th	Massachusetts.....
		North Carolina (Asst.).....Bp. 18

APPENDIX F.

GENERAL CONVENTIONS.

PLACE OF MEETING.	DATE.	PLACE OF MEETING.	DATE.
Philadelphia	1785	New York	1832
Philadelphia	1786	Philadelphia	1835
Wilmington, Del. (adjourned Convention)	1786	Philadelphia	1838
Philadelphia	1789	New York	1841
Philadelphia (adjourned Convention)	1789	Philadelphia	1844
New York	1792	New York	1847
Philadelphia	1795	Cincinnati	1850
Philadelphia (special)	1799	New York	1853
Trenton, N. J.	1801	Philadelphia	1856
New York	1804	Richmond, Va.	1859
Baltimore	1808	New York	1862
New Haven, Conn.	1811	Philadelphia	1865
Philadelphia	1814	New York	1868
New York	1817	Baltimore	1871
Philadelphia	1820	New York	1874
Philadelphia (special)	1821	Boston	1877
Philadelphia	1823	New York	1880
Philadelphia	1826	Philadelphia	1883
Philadelphia	1829	Chicago	1886
		New York	1889
		Baltimore	1892
		Minneapolis	1895

PRESIDING BISHOPS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

1.	William White, Pennsylvania	1789
2.	Samuel Seabury, Connecticut	1789–1792
3.	Samuel Provoost, New York	1792–1795
4.	William White, Pennsylvania	1795–1836
5.	Alexander Viets Griswold, the Eastern Diocese	1836–1843
6.	Philander Chase, Ohio	1843–1852
7.	Thomas Church Brownell, Connecticut	1852–1865
8.	John Henry Hopkins, Vermont	1865–1868
9.	Benjamin Bosworth Smith, Kentucky	1868–1884
10.	Alfred Lee, Delaware	1884–1887
11.	John Williams, Connecticut	1887–1895

1804. Rev. Cave Jones.
1808. Rev. James Whitehead.
1811. Rev. Philo Shelton.
1814. Rev. Jackson Kemper.
1841–53. Rev. Jo
1853–65. Rev. L
1868–83. Rev. H
1883–92. Rev. W
1892– Rev. Samuel Hart.

APPENDIX G.

PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF THE HOUS

PRESIDENTS.	S
1784. Rev. William Smith, D.D.	
1785. Rev. William White, D.D.	Rev.
1786. Rev. David Griffith.	Hon.
1786, October 10. Rev. Daniel Provoost.	
1789. Bishop White.	
1792. Rev. William Smith, D.D.	Rev. J
1795–99. "	Rev. J
1801. Rev. Abraham Beach.	Rev. A
1804–08. "	Rev. J
1811. Rev. Isaac Wilkins.	Rev. A
1814. Rev. John Croes.	
1817–21. Rev. W. H. Wilmer.	
1823. "	Rev. J
1826. "	Rev. B
1829. Rev. William E. Wyatt.	
1832–41. "	Rev. H
1844–47. "	Rev. W
1850. "	Rev. M
1853–59. Rev. Dr. Creighton.	
1862–65. Rev. Dr. Craik.	Rev. G

APPENDIX H.

COLLEGES AND THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

NO.	NAME.	PLACE.	PRESIDENT OR HEAD.
1.	Columbia	New York, N. Y.	Hon. Seth Low.
2.	Trinity	Hartford, Conn.	Rev. Dr. G. Williamson Smith.
3.	Hobart	Geneva, N. Y.	Rev. Dr. E. N. Potter.
4.	Racine	Racine, Wis.	Rev. Dr. Arthur Piper.
5.	Griswold	Davenport, Ia.	Bishop Perry.
6.	Kenyon	Gambier, O.	Dr. T. S. Sterling.
7.	St. Stephen's	Annandale, N. Y.	Rev. Dr. Fairbairn.
8.	University of the South	Sewanee, Tenn.	{ Bishop Dudley, Chancellor. { Prof. Wiggins, Vice-Chan.
9.	Lehigh University	South Bethlehem, Pa.	
1.	General Theol. Seminary	New York, N. Y.	Rev. Dr. Hoffman.
2.	Episcopal Theol. School	Cambridge, Mass.	Rev. Dr. Hodges.
3.	Divinity School	West Philadelphia, Pa.	Rev. Dr. Bartlett.
4.	Theol. Seminary of Virginia	Theol. Seminary Va.	Rev. Dr. Packard.
5.	Berkeley Div. School	Middletown, Conn.	Bishop Williams.
6.	Theol. Dept. U. of South	Sewanee, Tenn.	Rev. Dr. Du Bose.
7.	Nashotah House	Nashotah, Wis.	Rev. Dr. Gardner.
8.	Bexley Hall	Gambier, O.	Rev. H. D. Jones.
9.	Western Theol. Seminary	Chicago, Ill.	Bishop McLaren.
10.	Lee Hall	Davenport, Ia.	Bishop Perry.
11.	St. Andrew's Div. School	Syracuse, N. Y.	Bishop Huntington.
12.	Seabury Div. School	Faribault, Minn.	Rev. Dr. Wells.
13.	De Lancey Div. School	Geneva, N. Y.	Rev. Dr. Rankine.
14.	Denver Theol. School	Denver, Colo.	Bishop Spalding.
15.	Pacific Div. School	San Matco	Bishop Nichols.

GENERAL SUMMARY OF STATISTICS.

Dioceses in the United States	53
Missionary districts in the United States	18
Missionary jurisdictions in foreign lands	7
Clergy (bishops, 81; priests and deacons, 4,493)	4,574
Parishes and missions	6,037
Candidates for holy orders	558
Ordinations, deacons	221
Ordinations, priests	156
Baptisms	61,815
Confirmations	43,711
Communicants	596,031
Marriages	16,178
Burials	30,857
Sunday-school teachers	45,461
Sunday-school scholars	417,592
Grand total of contributions	$12,281,126.50

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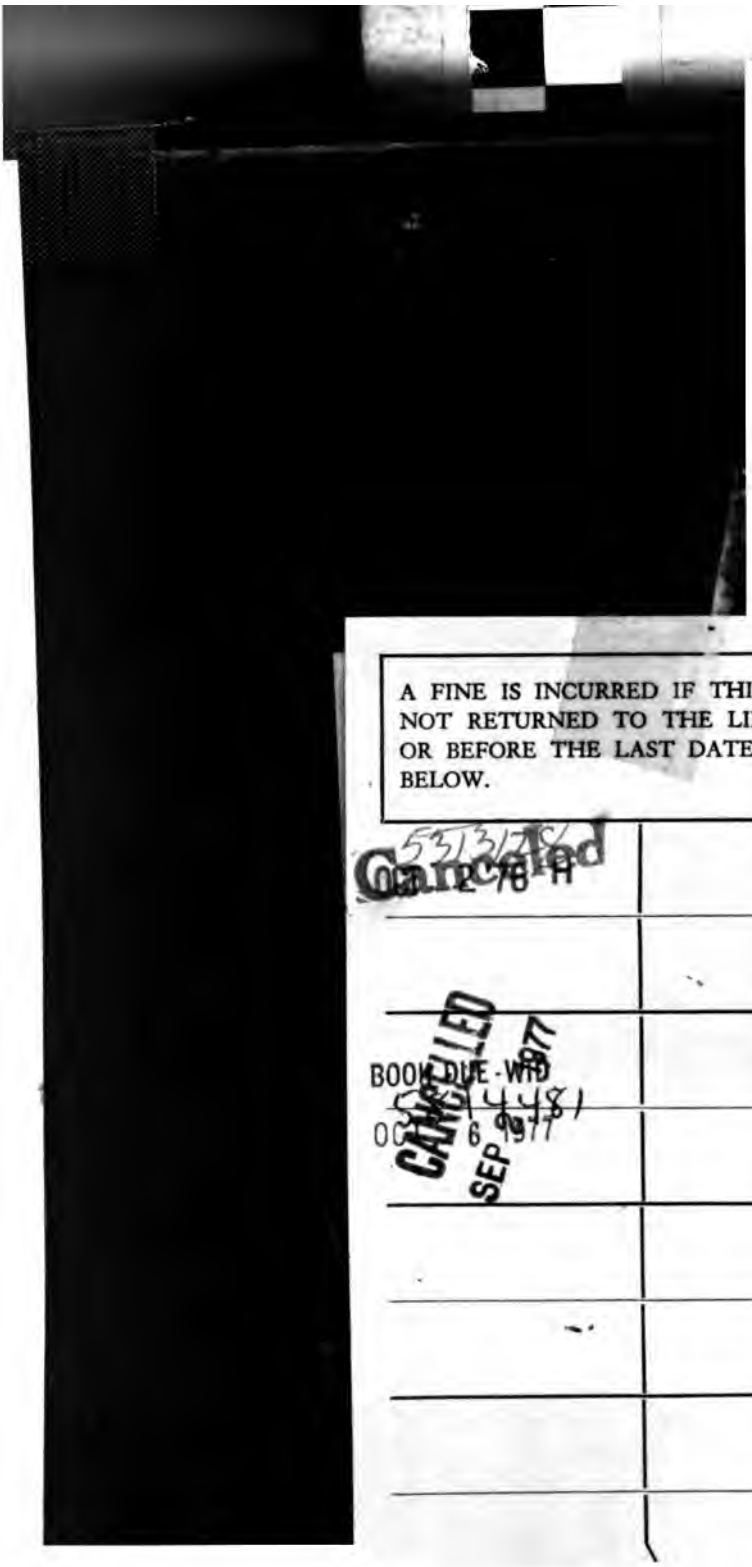

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